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THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC
JOURNAL.

THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC JOURNAL
AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY,
1908.

EDITED BY
W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A., P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A.,
AND
L. A. LAWRENCE, F.R.S.A.(Ireland).



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MCMIX.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
THE ROMAN MINT AND EARLY BRITAIN. BY W. SHARP OGDEN	I
A COIN OF OFFA FOUND IN A VIKING-AGE BURIAL AT VOSS, NORWAY. BY HAAKON SCHETELIG, DOCT. PHIL., <i>CURATOR OF THE BERGEN MUSEUM.</i> COMMUNICATED BY G. A. AUDEN, M.A., M.D., F.S.A.	51
THE GOLD MANCUS OF OFFA, KING OF MERCIA. BY P. W. P. CARLYON- BRITTON, F.S.A., <i>PRESIDENT</i>	55
A PENNY OF ST. ÆTHELBERHT, KING OF EAST ANGLIA. BY P. W. P. CARLYON- BRITTON, F.S.A., <i>PRESIDENT</i>	73
ON SOME COINS OF THE TENTH CENTURY FOUND IN THE ISLE OF MAN, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO A PENNY OF ANLAF STRUCK AT DERBY. BY P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., <i>PRESIDENT</i>	85
A NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF THE REIGNS OF WILLIAM I. AND II. (1066- 1100). PART II. THE HISTORIES OF THE MINTS, <i>CONTINUED.</i> BY P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., <i>PRESIDENT</i>	97
FINDS OF MEDIÆVAL CUT HALFPENCE AND FARTHING AT DUNWICH. BY EDWARD R. H. HANCOX	123
THE CROSS AS A MINT-MARK. BY SHIRLEY FOX, R.B.A.	135
PORTRAITURE OF OUR STUART MONARCHS ON THEIR COINS AND MEDALS. PART I. BY HELEN FARQUHAR	145
COIN COLLECTING IN THE DECCAN. BY MAJOR R. P. JACKSON, <i>INDIAN</i> <i>ARMY (RETIRED)</i>	263
COIN COLLECTING IN MYSORE. BY MAJOR R. P. JACKSON	287
SOME COPPER COINS ISSUED BY THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY AND OTHER EUROPEAN POWERS IN SOUTHERN INDIA. BY MAJOR R. P. JACKSON	341
THE PATTERN HALFPENNIES OF 1788 AND 1790 BY J. P. DROZ. BY STANLEY BOUSFIELD, M.A., M.B.	347
EVOLUTION OF PORTRAITURE ON THE SILVER PENNY. BY W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A., <i>HON. SECRETARY</i>	361
THE ANGLO-SAXON COMPUTATION OF HISTORIC TIME IN THE NINTH CENTURY, <i>CONTINUED.</i> BY ALFRED ANSCOMBE, F.R.HIST.SOC., <i>HON. SECRETARY</i>	381
A REVIEW. <i>COINS AND HOW TO KNOW THEM</i> BY GERTRUDE BURFORD RAWLINGS	409

	PAGE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY	411
OFFICERS AND COUNCIL	413
PROCEEDINGS	415
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL	448
PRESENTATION TO MR. CARLYON-BRITTON	456
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT AND BALANCE SHEET	468
LIST OF MEMBERS	469
INDEX	489

ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE ROMAN MINT AND EARLY BRITAIN.

PLATE I, FIG. 1. THE POMPEIAN FRESCO. <i>AMORINI</i> WORKING THE ROMAN MINT	<i>FACING</i>	I
PLATE II, FIG. 2. THE POMPEIAN FRESCO. PREPARING THE FLANS	<i>FACING</i>	6
PLATE III, FIG. 3. THE POMPEIAN FRESCO. STRIKING THE COINS. FIG. 4. APPROVING THE FINISHED COIN	<i>FACING</i>	8
MOULDS FOR THE FLANS		12
CENTRAL SEAM LEFT BY THE MOULD		13
EVIDENCE OF SLIPPED MOULDS		13
FLAN FROM MATRIX SUNK IN ONE FACE ONLY OF MOULD		14
ALMOND-SHAPED FLAN		14
A CAREFULLY FINISHED FLAN		15
<i>TORCULUM</i> FROM A FRESCO AT POMPEII		16
FLAN STAMPED FROM SHEET-METAL		17
HINGED DIES		19
MEDIEVAL MONEVER'S PASS		19
DIES HELD BY FORCEPS		20
PROPORTIONS OF THE DIES		21
A POSSIBLE INTERMEDIATE DIE		21
COINS MUTILATED AT THE MINT		22
COIN SHOWING CARELESS CLIPPING		22
MOULDS ARRANGED FOR CASTING		26
SILVER PENNY OF OFFA FOUND IN NORWAY		52

THE GOLD MANCUS OF OFFA, KING OF MERCA.

PLATE I. THE GOLD MANCUS AND COINS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE SUBJECT	<i>FACING</i>	55
---	---------------	----

THE GOLD MANCUS OF OFFA, KING OF MERCIA—*continued*—

PLATE II. ENLARGED FACSIMILES OF THE LEGENDS OF THE MANCUS AND A CONTEMPORARY DINAR. DRAWN BY LORD GRANTLEY, F.S.A.	<i>FACING</i>	56
NUMISMATIC MAP OF EUROPE IN THE TIME OF OFFA	<i>FACING</i>	67
A PENNY OF ST. ÆTHELBERHT, KING OF EAST ANGLIA, AND COINS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE SUBJECT	<i>FACING</i>	73

COINS FOUND IN THE ISLE OF MAN.

PLATE I.	<i>FACING</i>	85
PLATE II, INCLUDING COINS OF ANLAF AND ÆTHELSTAN STRUCK AT DERBY.	<i>FACING</i>	92

COINS OF WILLIAM I. AND II.

PLATE IX. THE BARNSTAPLE, EXETER, AND TOTNES MINTS	<i>FACING</i>	97
PLATE X. THE BRIDPORT, DORCHESTER, AND SHAFTESBURY MINTS.	<i>FACING</i>	104
PLATE XI. THE WAREHAM AND DURHAM MINTS	<i>FACING</i>	110
PLATE XII. THE COLCHESTER AND MALDON MINTS.	<i>FACING</i>	114

COINS FOUND AT DUNWICH	<i>FACING</i>	123
----------------------------------	---------------	-----

THE CROSS AS A MINT-MARK.

THE CROSSES, DRAWN BY MR. SHIRLEY FOX.	<i>FACING</i>	135
PLATE I. ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE MINT-MARK CROSS ON ENGLISH SILVER COINS	<i>FACING</i>	138
PLATE II. ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE MINT-MARK CROSS ON ENGLISH SILVER COINS	<i>FACING</i>	140

PORTRAITURE OF OUR STUART MONARCHS ON THEIR COINS AND MEDALS.

CHARLES II. FROM AN ORIGINAL COLOURED CHALK DRAWING BY SIR PETER LELY IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. W. SHARP OGDEN. COLOURED FACSIMILE (REDUCED).	<i>FACING</i>	145
JAMES I. FIRST ENGLISH UNIT.		147
JAMES I. LAUREL		150
JAMES I. FROM A RARE PRINT IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. W. SHARP OGDEN	<i>FACING</i>	153
COUNTER OF JAMES I. AND PRINCE CHARLES		155
SILVER-GILT BOX, <i>circa</i> 1618?		156
JAMES I. ENGRAVED ON THE LID OF THE BOX		157
HAT-PIECE OF JAMES VI. OF SCOTLAND		158
JAMES I. BY SIMON VAN DE PASSE		159
PEACE-WITH-SPAIN MEDAL		160
PEACE-WITH-SPAIN MEDAL WITH BORDER		160
ATTEMPTED-UNION MEDAL		162

	PAGE
PORTRAITURE OF OUR STUART MONARCHS ON THEIR COINS AND MEDALS—	
<i>continued—</i>	
MEDAL OF JAMES I., REVERSE, THE ARK	164
SCOTTISH TWENTY-SHILLING PIECE OF 1582	169
JAMES I.'S SECOND SCOTTISH UNIT AFTER HIS ACCESSION TO THE ENGLISH THRONE	170
FIRST SCOTTISH UNIT OF CHARLES I.	171
BRIOT'S SCOTTISH UNIT, SECOND ISSUE	172
SHILLING BY BRIOT, MINT-MARK FLOWER AND B	174
UNIT OF CHARLES I.	177
HIGHLY EMBOSSED PATTERN WITH CROWNED BUST: MINT-MARK PLUME	177
THE JUXON MEDAL	178
HIGHLY EMBOSSED PATTERN FOR TWENTY-SHILLINGS, MINT-MARK PLUME, UNCROWNED BUST	178
RETURN-TO-LONDON MEDAL, 1633, BY BRIOT	182
BRIOT'S PATTERN FOR A CROWN.	182
LID OF A COUNTER BOX	183
MEDAL ON THE BIRTH OF PRINCE CHARLES	184
UNIT OF CHARLES I., THIRD TYPE, MINT-MARK, HARP 1632	191
UNIT OF CHARLES I., FIRST ISSUE	191
SHILLING, MINT-MARK PLUME, 1630	192
· PORTRAIT OF HENRIETTA MARIA, FROM A LINE ENGRAVING BY DE JODE IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. W. SHARP OGDEN. <i>FACING</i>	192
PICTURE AT COMBE ABBEY OF CHARLES AND HENRIETTA MARIA, BY VAN DYCK	193
CHILDREN OF CHARLES I.	194
PATTERN HALF-GROAT OF CHARLES I. IN RUFF	197
BRIOT'S SHILLING, MINT-MARK ANCHOR, SECOND TYPE	197
SCOTTISH CORONATION MEDAL	198
MEDAL OF CHARLES I. BY JOHN ROETTIER	199
MARBLE BUST OF CHARLES I. IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. LAURENCE CURRIE. <i>FACING</i>	200
MARBLE BAS-RELIEF OF CHARLES I.: MEMORIAL <i>CIRCA</i> 1700. <i>FACING</i>	202
DOMINION-OF-THE-SEA MEDAL, BY BRIOT, 1630	203
DOMINION-OF-THE-SEA MEDAL, BY BRIOT, 1639	203
ABERYSTWTH PENNY OF CHARLES I.	205
OXFORD £3 PIECE, 1644	206
SHILLING, MINT-MARK (P)	208
SHILLING, MINT-MARK EYE.	208
CIVIL WAR BADGE BY RAWLINS	211

PORTRAITURE OF OUR STUART MONARCHS ON THEIR COINS AND MEDALS— PAGE
continued—

CIVIL WAR BADGE IN PROFILE BY RAWLINS	211
COUNTER OF PRINCE HENRY	214
GOLD MEDAL OF PRINCE HENRY	214
CROMWELL'S CROWN	216
DUNBAR MEDAL	220
MEDAL OF CROMWELL AS PROTECTOR.	222
PORTRAIT OF CROMWELL FROM A CONTEMPORARY ENGRAVING IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. W. SHARP OGDEN <i>FACING</i>	224
CORONATION MEDAL OF CHARLES II. BY SIMON.	229
PROOF FOR A BROAD. 1ST COINAGE OF CHARLES II.	230
PROOF FOR A HALF-CROWN. 1ST COINAGE OF CHARLES II.	231
BROAD OF THE 1ST COINAGE OF CHARLES II.	231
HALF-GROAT, HAMMERED; HALF-GROAT, MILLED; AND PENNY, MILLED, OF CHARLES II.	232
CROWN OF CHARLES II. BY ROETTIER	240
THE <i>REDDITE CROWN</i> OF CHARLES II.	241
CHARLES II. <i>BATTLE-OF-LOWESTOFT</i> MEDAL BY ROETTIER	245
CHARLES II. <i>NOS-PENES-IMPERIUM</i> MEDAL BY RAWLINS	245
CHARLES II. NAVAL REWARD BY SIMON	245
CHARLES II., FROM A DRAWING BY DAVID LOGGAN IN THE COLLECTION OF DR. GEORGE WILLIAMSON <i>FACING</i>	246
<i>DIXI-CUSTODIAM</i> MEDAL OF CHARLES II.	250
CHARLES II., AS KING OF THE SCOTS, FROM A RARE ENGRAVING IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. W. SHARP OGDEN <i>FACING</i>	251
BADGES OF CHARLES II. IN HIS YOUTH	251
<i>JAM-FLORESCIT</i> MEDAL OF CHARLES II.	251
THE <i>FELICITAS-BRITANNIÆ</i> MEDAL OF CHARLES II. <i>FACING</i>	252
THE <i>GOLDEN MEDAL</i> OF CHARLES AND CATHARINE.	255
QUEEN CATHARINE, FROM A MEZZOTINT IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. W. SHARP OGDEN <i>FACING</i>	256
BRITISH COLONIZATION MEDAL OF CHARLES AND CATHARINE	256
CHARLES II. THE CHRIST'S HOSPITAL MEDAL	257
COIN COLLECTING IN THE DECCAN.	
PLATE I. COINS FROM THE DECCAN <i>FACING</i>	270
PLATE II. " " " " " " " " " " " "	274
PLATE III. " " " " " " " " " " " "	278
COIN COLLECTING IN MYSORE.	
PLATE I. MYSORE COINS <i>FACING</i>	288
PLATE II. " " " " " " " " " " " "	308

	PAGE
COIN COLLECTING IN MYSORE— <i>continued</i> —	
PLATE III. MYSORE COINS	<i>FACING</i> 334
COINS ISSUED BY THE BRITISH, DUTCH, DANES, AND FRENCH IN SOUTHERN INDIA	<i>FACING</i> 342
PATTERN HALFPENNIES BY DROZ.	
PLATE I. HALFPENNIES ENLARGED TO TWICE THE DIAMETER.	<i>FACING</i> 348
PLATE II. " " " " " " "	352
SO-CALLED DROZ FARTHING	357
POTRRAITURE ON THE SILVER PENNY	<i>FACING</i> 361
RARE VARIETY OF A PENNY OF ATHELSTAN	365
SMALL AND THICK EXPERIMENTAL PENNY OF EDWARD THE CON- FESSION	373
GOLD CROWN OF HENRY VIII.	418
SCEATTAS FOUND IN FRIESLAND	429
NORTHUMBRIAN STYCA OF EARDWULF	429
IMITATION OF ROMAN <i>MINIMI</i> IN BRONZE AND THE PROTOTYPE FOR THE OBERSE	432
PENNY OF STEPHEN, <i>HAWKINS</i> , 268. CASTLE RISING MINT	438
FORGERY OF A GROAT OF HENRY IV.	439
PENNY OF COENWULF OF MERCA	439
UNPUBLISHED VARIETY OF THE CORONATION MEDAL OF WILLIAM AND MARY	442
PENNY OF OFFA WITH AN UNRECORDED MONEVER	443
PENNIES OF HENRY IV. OR HENRY V.	443
SINGLE PAISAH OF TIPPO SAIB OF MYSORE	443
COPPER COIN OF GRANADA FOUND AT ABINGDON	443
SILVER HALF-GROS OF HENRY IV.	444
PENNY OF CNUT WITH REVERSE OF ÆTHELRED II., YORK MINT	447

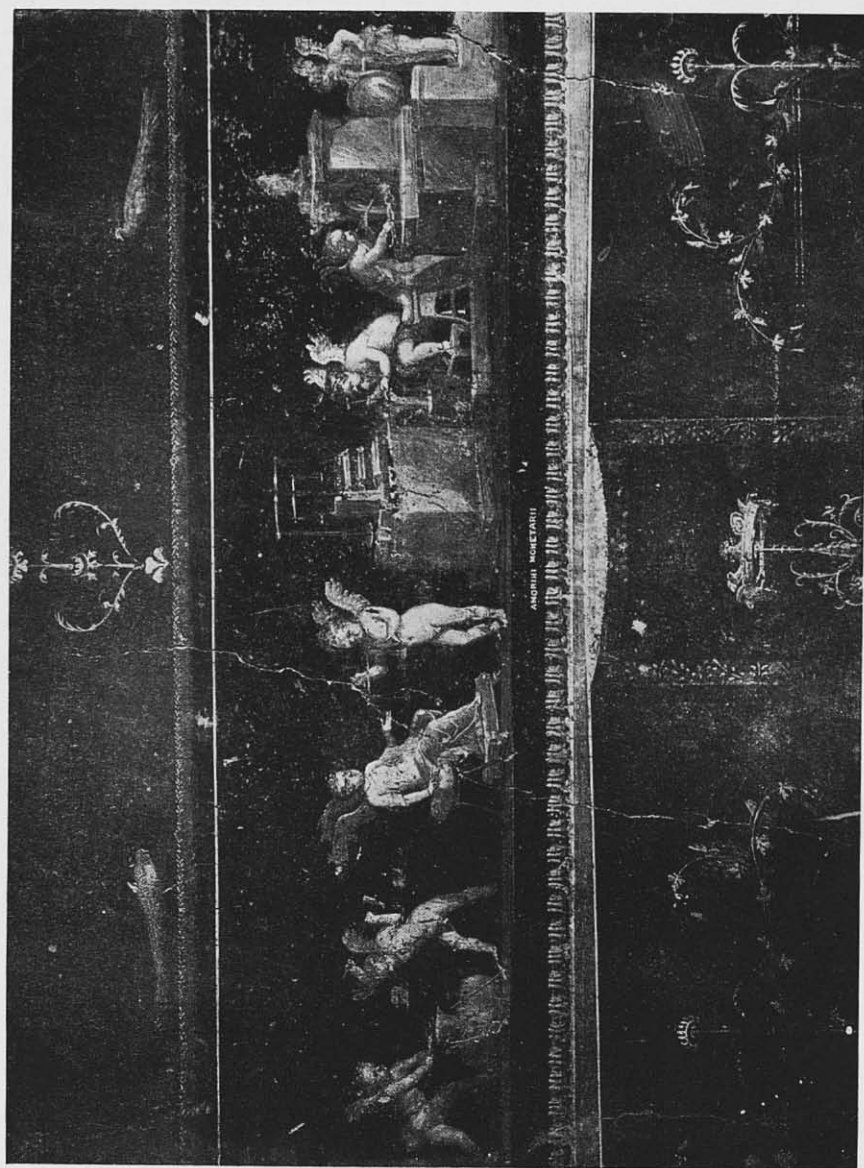



FIG. I.—AMORINI WORKING THE ROMAN MINT. (FROM A FRESCO AT POMPEII.)

THE ROMAN MINT AND EARLY BRITAIN.

BY W. SHARP OGDEN.

HE little discs of embossed metal which we call coins, whether made of gold, silver, or the amalgam of copper and tin known as bronze, are the most enduring if not imperishable records of nations and peoples that have long passed away ; and as a medium of universal intercourse have, for nearly thirty centuries, probably effected more for civilisation and progress than any other work created by human ingenuity.

Of all the evidences of departed empire few are so changeless and none so indestructible as the productions of the mint ; they are the faithful representative of art in all its phases from the archaic to absolute decadence, of customs, beliefs and national aspirations, disasters or successes ; they render to us the lineaments of the great or notorious personages of history, and of those who otherwise would be little more than a name. In their production the most famous artists have expended their utmost skill, and owing to the metals of which they are made, we receive many of them precisely as when produced ; their size and shape have also protected them from injury, where larger or more imposing objects have either perished or been wilfully destroyed ; and thus we have preserved and handed down to us a series of monumental histories at once faithful, attractive and enduring.

Conspicuous amongst these in majestic amplitude and in unbroken succession for many centuries, are those of the Roman masters of the world, ranging from the rude but vigorous days of the early republic, to the magnificence and luxury of the Cæsars and thence to the gradual decline and ultimate evanescence of the decrepit

and worn out empire. In its protracted course they cover the most important period of human history, providing a record without parallel, and standing as a beacon midway between the obscurity of civilisations past or decadent, of dying nations, and the coming of a brighter dawn.

One of the most admirable features of Roman polity was the instinct of duty, of personal surrender to national claims, and the right of the state over individual liberty. This, together with a decorous reverence of the gods, encouraged and morally demanded the best efforts of all citizens for the public weal, receiving in return, the inheritance as a *Civis Romanus* the measure of advancement due to individual intelligence and capacity.

Amidst the greatest excesses of the republic and the empire and in the most disastrous times, we find that this inborn sense of duty and faithful adherence to established, if rigid rule, enable the state to quickly overcome its difficulties, to bring order out of chaos, and thus to compel obedience, even in its remotest dependencies, until exhausted by continual warfare, debased by oriental luxury and barbarian admixtures, the empire passed away : but the proud actuality of ROMA ÆTERNA ceasing from the vitality of mortal force, was etherialised into a serene immortality as the *mater orbis* of duty, order and law ; for the obscurations of time are powerless to efface the example and teachings of her majestic and virile rule.

Much of our knowledge of the social life of the Roman people at the beginning of the Christian era is derived from sources which time has darkened and ignorance, prejudice or the barbarian defaced ; we stand as it were in the midst of ruined temples and fallen columns, confronted by the mutilated statues of the gods and the great beings of the earth, which, in "disastrous eclipse," still command our wonder and reverential admiration, whilst we deplore the ruin that has overtaken them.

The coinage issued from the Roman mint covers a period extending over eight centuries, or approximately from the middle of the fourth century B.C., to the close of the fifth century of the Christian era. In its course of expansion from a limited and almost

unknown republic to that of the greatest of empires, we must be prepared to discover extraordinary variety of type, and much diversity in design and fabric.

The limited establishment which Rome first possessed seems to have been similar to that of the Etruscan and other cities and communities of the Campagna, and was certainly very much inferior in every way to the constitution of the contemporary Greco-Italian cities and colonies. As Rome increased in power and expanded in territory, the surrounding mints of these were absorbed or generally suppressed, and the currency was chiefly supplied from a central *officina* at Rome, which, combined with the exchequer, in course of time employed several thousands of artisans. This central *officina*, however, as distant provinces were added to the empire, was supplemented by a large number of local, provincial or colonial mints, ranging from Iberia in the west, to Syria and Egypt in the east, and from the cities on the Mediterranean coast of Africa in the south, to Gaul and Britain in the far north. All these colonial mints either came under, if existing, or were established by the senate, subject to the central *officina* at Rome; most of them appear to have been continuously active, and many were certainly quite as prolific as the parent mint, especially during the third and fourth Christian centuries.

The early history of Rome and central Italy is largely traditional, but from the pages of Livy we gather that there was a primitive currency of bronze, rough in its workmanship and heavy in its fabric, which we identify by the name of *æs rude*. This was of irregular form and devoid of device or lettering, but adjusted by weight to the Roman pound.

Tradition asserts that it was Servius Tullius, 578–534 B.C., who first issued the minted bronze currency known as *æs signatum* and *æs grave*, but the earliest pieces we possess are, from their style, adjudged to be of not earlier date than the middle of the fourth century B.C. These early pieces have more the appearance of weights than coins; they are also of inartistic and careless fabric, and evidently not struck, but cast in a complete form in a rough and ready fashion. They comprise the *as* of twelve ounces and its divisions—*semis*, *triens*,

quadrans, *sextans* and *uncia* = an ounce, and are particularised thus :—

Name.	Obverse design.	Reverse design.	Mark of value.
<i>As</i>	Head of Janus ...	Prow of Galley.	I
<i>Semis</i>	„ Jupiter ...	„	S
<i>Triens</i>	„ Minerva ...	„	• • • •
<i>Quadrans</i>	„ Hercules ...	„	• • •
<i>Sextans</i>	„ Mercury ...	„	• •
<i>Uncia</i>	„ Roma ...	„	•

These pieces in fabric and general character resemble the currency of neighbouring communities, the type of each of which is usually distinct, but from the frequent absence of inscription it has not been found possible to locate or determine all varieties.

As Rome advanced in power these communities came under her rule, and she gradually but continuously during three centuries reduced in weight the whole of this heavy currency, until in the year 89 B.C., the *as* had shrunk to half an ounce or one twenty-fourth of its original weight. Shortly afterwards, the mint ceased to coin in any other metals than gold and silver, until it was reconstituted by Augustus in 15 B.C., when the mintage of bronze was resumed.

The later issues of the *as* and its divisions are of reduced size and weight, but generally of better design and work—many also are evidently struck from dies ; it is singular, however, that both methods of production appear to have been in use at the same time ; the mint, with apparent indifference, issuing coins of high quality of design and carefully made, side by side with roughly cast pieces, almost, and in some cases entirely untrimmed from the mould.

All of the earlier issues are of a bronze composed of copper and a base alloy such as lead, tin being either absent or only perceptible in a very small proportion, and the larger pieces frequently show where

this inferior alloy has perished and disappeared. The persistent use of this coarse and, indeed, in some cases almost barbaric species of coin, is the more surprising when we compare it with the smaller, beautifully designed and executed money, issued by the Greek cities and colonies on the coasts of Italy and Sicily; much of which must have freely circulated in and around Rome.

The author of *Historia Numorum* pointedly remarks :

“The dates of the several series of *æ s grave* are frequently no less difficult to fix than the places to which they belong. In this matter we must not be deceived by style, for the rudest and most clumsily executed pieces are not necessarily the earliest, as would doubtless have been the case if the art exhibited upon them had been of native growth, but this is not so. The art-work of the *æ s grave* is everywhere borrowed from that of the Greeks, and the degree of excellence attained in any particular district depended upon the closeness of its relations, direct or indirect, with some Greek city, or at least with a population imbued with the spirit of Greek art.”

At a later period, however, when these cities and colonies came gradually under the rule of Rome, we find her imitating them in more ways than one ; the massive cast pieces of the *signatum* or *grave* types are no longer issued, their places being supplied by others evidently designed by artists of Greek origin, many of these being struck from metal dies upon cast or cut flans.

The national coinage in its origin was solely of bronze, but as the *spolia* of war gradually enriched the state a coinage of gold and silver was also issued, the senate placing the *æ rarium* under the charge of two quæstors. In the year 27 B.C., however, Augustus arrogated to himself the privilege of coining gold and silver, and for about twelve years no bronze money was issued. Probably the existing supply was abundant, owing to the quantity of colonial and other foreign moneys of that metal circulating as small change. The enormous quantity of bullion obtained from the east by the recent conquests would also naturally reduce its market value and consequent purchasing power, hence the senate may have considered it advisable to suspend for a time any further issues of bronze, especially as the mint officials would be fully occupied with the coinage of gold and silver.

When the minting of all three metals was resumed in 15 B.C., Augustus reserved to the *princeps* the sole right of coining gold and silver, but restored to the senate full control of the bronze, or ancient state money; and, with the exception of Nero, this arrangement was respected by succeeding emperors until the senate became little more than a name.

The quite recent acquisition of the tin and copper mines of Britain may have been the reason why Nero resumed the coining of bronze. The treasury was exhausted through his excessive and prodigal expenditure, and the volume of his magnificent bronze coinage is a remarkable testimony to the amplitude of material, much of which must have been obtained from Britain.

The coins of *orichalcum*, or bright yellow bronze, are said to have passed at a higher value and even double that of the ordinary bronze, but any decree to that effect must soon have become inoperative from the intermediate shades of colour produced by various alloys.

A mural painting of extreme interest, discovered at Pompeii in the Casa del Vetti in the year 1895, gives a symbolic group of *amorini* engaged in the various duties of officials and workmen of the mint. Plate I, Fig. 1. The figures are seven in number, ranged side by side, the action running from right to left, and the earnest gravity of the busy little winged boys is depicted with graceful humour and considerable artistic skill.

The subject really comprises three groups, each of which is solely employed on its particular work, thus, the three *amorini* on the right hand are engaged in smelting or casting and dressing the flans, the left hand pair are striking the coins, and the central group represents the chamber of accompt or treasury. The subjects are arranged so naturally that there is no break or severance in the design, which, at a glance, is that of a frieze of several figures engaged in united action.

The primary, or right hand group, Plate II, Fig. 2, are founders and smiths. The occupation of the first workman is somewhat uncertain; he is bending over the lower part of the furnace and

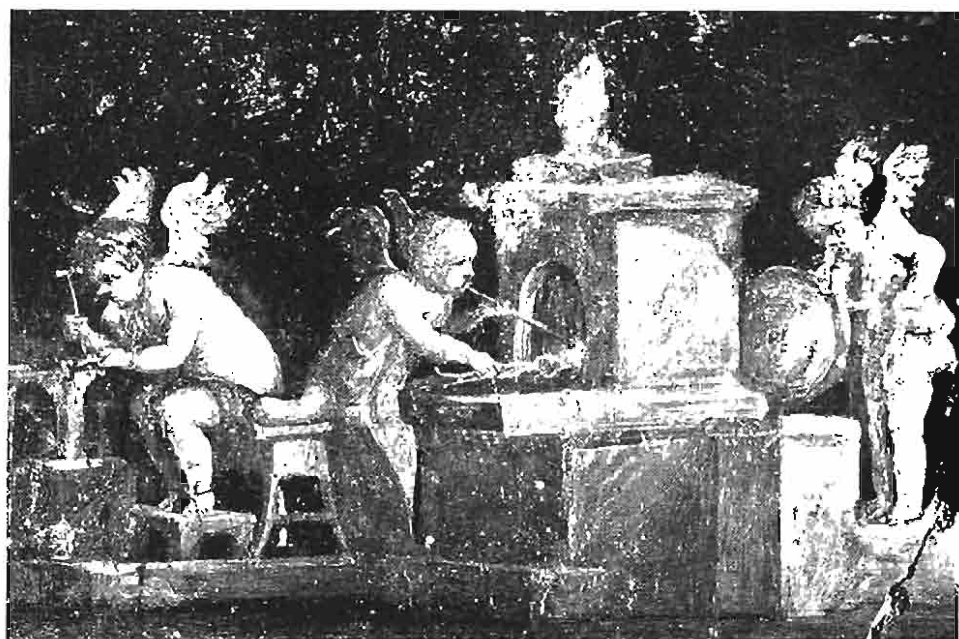


FIG. 2.—PREPARING THE FLANS.

THE POMPEIAN FRESCO.

manipulating a large circular object that may represent the lid or cover of the chamber in which the flans were cast. But keeping in view the occupation of his mate, it seems more likely that he is quickening the furnace fire with bellows of a circular form. Bellows of this kind are still used for forges and smith hearths, and date from an immemorial antiquity. On the other side of the same furnace, which is surmounted by a bust of Vulcan, the second figure is superheating with a blow-pipe the separated flans, which are probably on a metal pan inside the upper part of the furnace, for he is evidently controlling something there with the large pair of tongs which he grasps in his right hand. The third figure is seated immediately behind him, and is busily engaged in dressing the heated flans into regular form on a small upright anvil, and freeing them from any imperfection due to casting or severance, or, possibly, minting coin of small fabric.

Just as these three figures typify the founders and smiths, so the left hand group shows the method of minting the heavier bronze coin, Plate III, Fig. 3. We see a pair of *amorini* admirably portrayed and full of action; they stand on either side of a large metal anvil which is fixed on a massive wood base. The first is holding the large hinged-dies at arm's length upon the anvil, while his companion is swinging the sledge-hammer with both arms above the head, thus prefiguring the extreme force required in the operation, and proving beyond doubt that the mintage of the larger bronze coins, at least, required more than one pair of hands. Attention may be directed to the technical accuracy shown in the placement of the figures, the striker not being directly opposite but on one side of his mate, and thus averting danger from any mishap from the hammer-head. Leaning against the wood base of the anvil, on which there is also a small or hand anvil, there rest another pair of tongs, or dies, and a smaller hammer with a shaped head; these were, perhaps, required to correct any slight imperfection caused by the striking.

Between these groups to right and left, and occupying the centre of the picture, is a third group of two figures, Plate III, Fig. 4, which, there can be no doubt, is intended to represent the higher officials of the treasury, namely, the *monetarii*. The principal figure, which is

fully draped and displays larger wings than the other *amorino*, is seated upon a cushioned bench, his feet resting upon a footstool; he regards with an air of authority the youthful official standing before him, who, with a pair of hand scales, is demonstrating that the newly minted coin is of full weight. To the right is a stand or pedestal, upon which rest three tiers of shelves bearing small round articles resembling coins, and which are probably intended to represent gold, silver and bronze money. The whole is surmounted by two pairs of scales, the upper pair being of very large size and evidently intended for weighing in bulk.

Over the entire scene, and resting upon the horizontal upper border, there are two peacocks with an elaborate floral ornament between them. See Plate I. This is, no doubt, to give a dedicatory character of the whole to Juno Moneta, whose image, so entitled and with this bird by her side, appears frequently upon imperial coins, and, in turn, the bird itself was named *Junonia ales*. This remarkable fresco is a charming example of playful imagery which some Greco-Roman artist produced for a patron, whose family was or may at some time have been connected with the consular or imperial mint at a period not later than A.D. 79, when Pompeii was destroyed. Consular silver inscribed *·T·VETTIVS·SABINVS·*, and, perhaps, a colonial *æ* of Augustus with *Æ* under the bust, may reasonably be associated, if not identified with the family.

Notwithstanding the fanciful and figurative character of this fresco, it is a pictorial record of the highest value, not only in being by far the most graphic and detailed representation of the procedure and operation of the mint that has come down to us, but also in illustrating the tools, implements and methods of their manipulation, and when these, together with such of the actual tools as have survived, are compared with the evidence of manufacture furnished by the coins themselves, we are enabled to apprehend more clearly than ever hitherto and with greater certainty, the system and process not only of the Roman mint but probably those by which the bulk of all ancient coins were produced.

When the Casa del Vetti was discovered and excavated in 1895

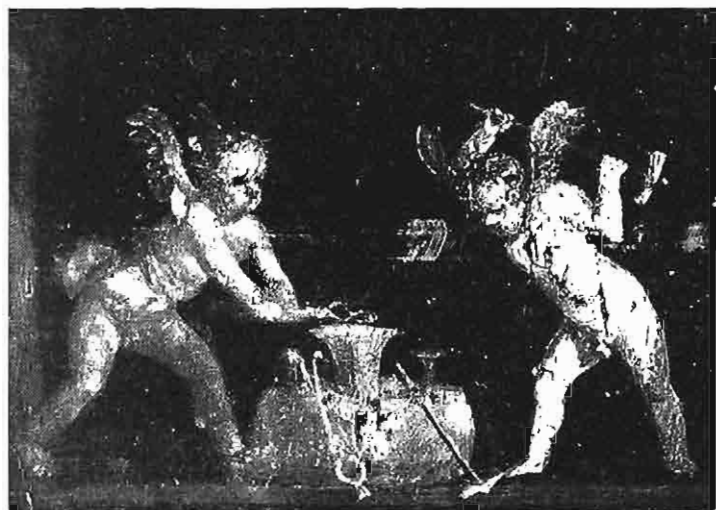


FIG. 3.—STRIKING THE COINS.

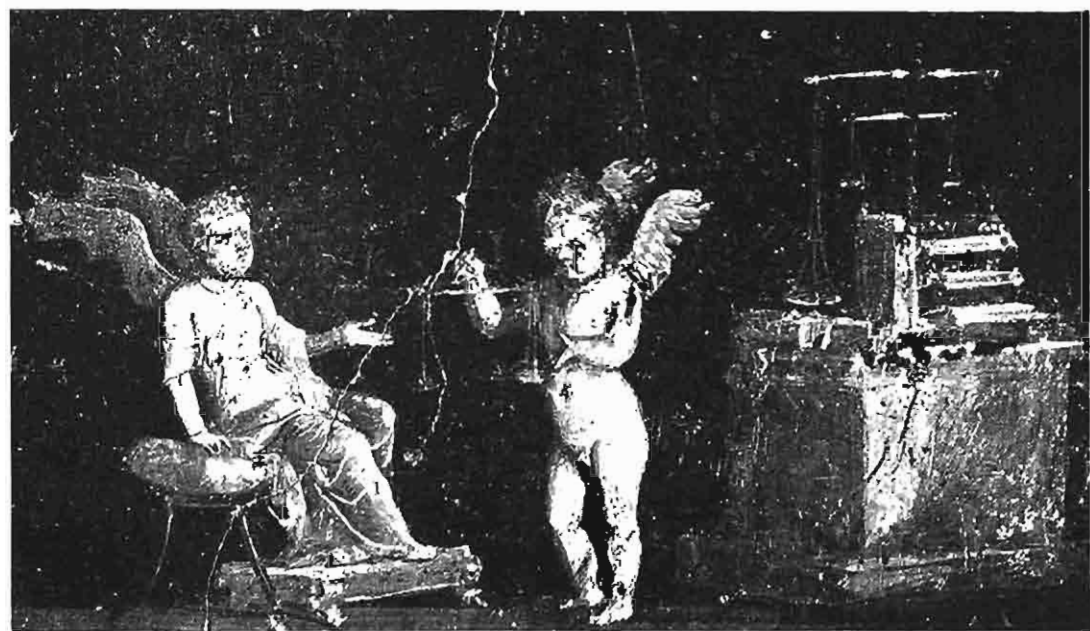


FIG. 4.—APPROVING THE FINISHED COIN.

THE POMPEIAN FRESCO.

it was found to be one of the finest houses in Pompeii, some of the rooms still containing statues and fountains of marble, the walls being decorated with this fresco¹ and many other paintings in the Greco-Roman style.

Great as was the area of ancient Rome, its colossal public edifices and palaces, multiplied with such ostentatious magnificence by some of the imperators, are darkly contrasted by the narrow roadways and piled up dwellings of the plebeians, most of which were four storeys in height, and friendly neighbours could touch hands across the street.

The *officina* of the mint in the fourth century B.C. was undoubtedly located on the Mons Capitolinus. Livy, book vi, 20, says that the site of the house of Marcus Manlius was "where the temple of Moneta and the mint office now stand."

But as Rome expanded and became a city of spacious and magnificent buildings, the restricted area of the Capitol would not allow the continuance there of a department of the exchequer employing vast numbers of officials and workmen. This section, therefore, which included the workshops, must have been removed to a conveniently adjacent position, especially as the *Ærarium* proper, or treasury, was in the vaulted basement of the Temple of Saturn, which stands at the foot of the Capitol. Between these, and quite in touch with both, we have the extensive range of massive and gloomy vaults known as the *Tabularium*. These are built against and partly under the Capitoline Mount, with the summit of which they communicate by an ancient stone stairway. They are probably the work of Q. Lutatius Catulus, to whom the senate entrusted the rebuilding of the Capitol after the fire of 83 B.C. The *Tabularium* was the Public Record Office of the day, where the bronze tablets upon which the national archives were inscribed, were compiled and kept, but neither the preparation nor the conservation of these could have required more than a portion of this immense structure, which, from its contiguity to both the *Officina* and the *Ærarium*, was in every way

¹ I am indebted to Mr. E. J. Sellman for the photograph of this fresco, the procurement of which in an untampered state appears to have been attendant with considerable difficulty.

suitable for the workshop of the mint. The *Tabularium* may have been confined to the upper storey, the last vestiges of which were removed in the sixteenth century, when an inscription was found containing the words SVBSTRVCTIONEM · ET · TABVLARIVM. Failing proof to the contrary, we may not unreasonably assume that the *Tabularium* and this, the working section of the mint, to which it was to some extent allied, were associated jointly in the same building. Notwithstanding the paucity of direct or explicit records, we are enabled to draw a not improbable picture of the routine observed in the *officina monetalis*.

In gloomy vaults then, such as these, lurid with the glare of furnaces and forges, stifling with heat and deafened by the clang of hammer and anvil, the great army of workmen of the mint carried on their daily toil. At the furnaces, ready for smelting, are piles of ingots and broken bronze, the *spolia* and fruit of conquest, the fitments and decorations torn from buildings destroyed to make way for newer extravagances, defaced statues of disgraced celebrities, worn out armour, arms or utensils, and the countless metal articles of general use, which then were almost invariably of bronze. All these were swept into the mint to provide material for the constantly increasing demand for ready coin "to pay the legions."

Near these furnaces the moulders are engaged in making and firing the terra cotta matrices for the casting of the flans, or plain discs of metal. When these moulds are prepared they are arranged in rows side by side, and probably also secured by metal bands, to facilitate the casting from ladles filled at the large metal pans of the smelting furnaces. As the moulds cool after the casting, they are separated and the cores that formed the attached flans are broken or cut asunder; then the rough discs of metal are placed in the smaller or blow-pipe furnace for reheating, and thence passed in a malleable state in single pieces to the trimmers, who at small bench-anvils dress them into a perfect form ready for the striking.

The flans thus prepared are then collected, and in shallow metal pans are again sufficiently heated to receive without fracture the percussion of minting: the frequency of slightly cracked coins, or those

with fissured edges, after the first century A.D., is mostly due to carelessness or haste in this respect. The actual minting of the larger bronze coin was certainly performed by two, and probably by four persons; two of whom were holders and two strikers, and all of them standing around each massive minting *incus* or anvil. As shown on the Pompeian fresco, this was fixed upon a base of wood, apparently formed from a section of tree-trunk, in order to soften or deaden the concussion of heavy blows, and it is interesting to observe that a similar method is in use by smiths at the present time.

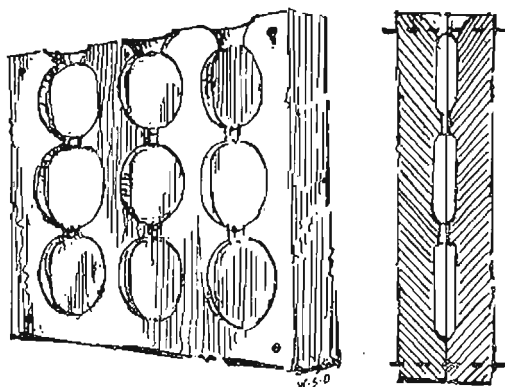
Official No. 1, who is evidently the foreman, controls and works the bronze dies, which are attached to, or encircled by hinged metal rods; these at arm's length are steadied on the anvil, whilst No. 2 carefully places between them the red hot flan; the two hammermen then swinging their massive double-faced sledge-hammers over the shoulder, each deliver a single blow on the minting irons and the work is done. No. 2 then replaces the struck piece with another flan and the newly minted coin is passed before cooling to the finisher, who, adjacent at a small hand anvil with a pane, or single-faced hammer, deftly supplies any finishing touches required, and this done, the completed coin is passed at once into the treasury for accout and storage.

From the *Corpus Inscriptionum* we learn that in a certain *officina* there were the following officials: the *optio*, or manager; seventeen *signatores*, or die sinkers, and sixteen *officinatores*, or chief workmen; these may have worked single-handed striking gold, silver, and small bronze at the hand anvils. Also eleven *suppostores*, die or flan placers, and lastly, thirty-two *malleatores*, or hammermen; the last named were probably in the proportion of two to each die-placer, leaving the remaining third as trimmer or finisher. To these officials we may add that of the *exactor* or superintendent, and the *flatores*, melters, and casters.

The creation of the pattern or model and the preparation of the matrix or die were, no doubt, made under much more agreeable conditions and surroundings than the casting and minting, and quite apart from the clash of metal and clang of the forges. Many artists

must have been engaged on this section of the work, and some were evidently men of great ability, of probably Greek or Greco-Roman birth. The work of the latter class, both as regards conventionalised portraiture and figure design of graceful art, is at once perceptible as of very high quality, and is readily distinguishable from the reproductions of less skilled men.

Interesting comparison may be made in the varying quality of work to be found in any single type of the same emperor, from the refinement of the original to its gradual degradation at the hands of copyists of unequal ability, many of whom were little better than mere mechanics.



MOULDS FOR THE FLANS. FIG. 5.

The terra cotta moulds, or *formæ* as they were called, in which the flans or, in some cases, coins were cast, were square and flat in shape, resembling a tile, and, probably, they were prepared somewhat in this way :—The internal faces were first coated with wax to prevent adhesion, and then whilst plastic, actual flans or coins would be placed in rows upon the under half, as close together as practicable so long as each was apart. The upper half then being placed in position, both were pressed close together and the true position maintained by metal pins inserted through each corner. On the matrices being separated and the flans or coins removed, each half would exhibit a correspondence of circular depressions, either blank or reproducing the design of the coins in intaglio, and channels were then cut between each depression. At the top when the tile-shaped matrix was set on edge, a wider and

funnel-shaped mouth, to facilitate the free admission of the molten metal into and through each row of depressions, would be made, and it is very likely that strips of connected flans may have been used as cores and left in the moulds whilst they were fired, thus ensuring matrices of more perfect form, and avoiding the risk of warping or other distortion. When the moulds were ready for use they probably appeared somewhat like Fig. 5.

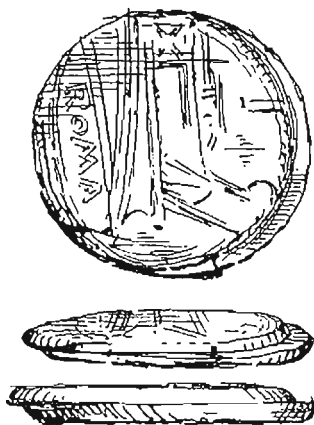
If a number of these moulds were placed close together, side by side, it would enable the workman to pour the volume of metal required more quickly than if each mould were filled alone, and thus it would facilitate readiness of production.

The *æs grave* of the republic were undoubtedly produced in this way, for, looking at the coins, we find that the edge frequently retains a little rib or seam in the centre, which probably arises from the moulds being partially worn on the meeting faces from long use, thus :—



CENTRAL SEAM LEFT BY THE MOULD. FIG. 6.

We occasionally come across examples showing imperfect work, such as where, owing to the corner pins having been omitted or having worn loose, the moulds have moved and distorted the coins or flans, thus :—



EVIDENCES OF SLIPPED MOULDS. FIG. 7.

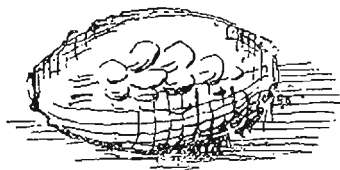
Examples of this kind betraying careless work are of value as determining whether a particular type or piece was cast or struck, which is not always an easy matter to decide from its mere appearance when round and perfect; for the defective cast coin carries a complete impression on each face, whilst the coin struck upon a defective flan has only one perfect side, the other having the relief more or less off the flan; to some extent it also affords evidence of the minting irons or dies being connected in a fixed position and not adjustable to each face. A variety of this kind of mould is of Greek or Syrian origin, and to some extent obviates the difficulty of the seamed edge; here the full, or nearly full, thickness of the coin was impressed on one side only, the other half of the mould being either quite plain or bearing little more than the figure or relief, thus:—



FLAN FROM MATRIX SUNK IN ONE FACE, ONLY, OF MOULD. FIG. 8.

The coins issued in Egypt under the empire followed this method, which had been introduced into the Egyptian mints by the Ptolemies, who brought it from Greece: it was also used throughout Syria and in many colonial mints. Probably it commended itself as the readiest and easiest way to the comparatively unskilled *monetaarii* of obtaining plain flans, as only one matrix was required, any plain surface serving for the other. The casting likewise was not affected by slipping or any other movement.

An archaic type of cast coin is of almond-shape, Fig. 9. This species of *as grave* may have been a survival of eastern methods, or devised to facilitate the readier casting of a greater number at once.

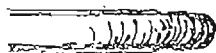


ALMOND-SHAPED COIN. FIG. 9.

The little pin-holes found on Ptolemaic bronze coins of all sizes, even to the smallest, have been regarded as due to a method employed for correctly centring the dies on the flans in the striking. Carelessly struck pieces, however, disprove this, just as coins of irregular shape show that they were not the centres for finishing on a lathe. May they not be the holes from a pair of toothed forceps, a handy tool for holding the newly minted coin which, when placed between the pointed jaws and secured by a tap of the hammer, would be conveniently trimmed and finished by the workman?

The ever-increasing requirements of the empire for a larger volume of the bronze currency evidently put a strain upon its productive power that it was unable to bear whilst continuing its customary and primitive methods. Hence various mechanical appliances were introduced, but from this time forward under Hadrian and his successors, we find that frequent and increasing evidences of declining taste and skill—hasty and consequently careless work, followed by official mutilation, replace the beautiful medallion character of the coins of the earlier emperors.

The flans of the bronze coins from Augustus to Hadrian were, as a rule, very carefully made, being cast with a rounded edge in such a skilful manner that the best preserved examples show little or no signs of subsequent trimming or dressing, Fig. 10. Flans of this



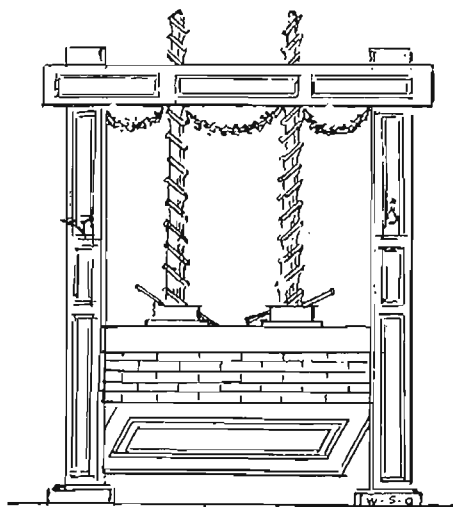
A CAREFULLY FINISHED FLAN. FIG. 10.

superior make were cast from moulds of the kind described by Pliny, who writing about the year A.D. 79, says they were "made of a kind of stone indestructible by heat"; possibly none of these stone *formæ* have survived, mint authorities in all times taking care to destroy superseded or useless tools and appliances, but there can be no doubt of their existence and use at and before the time of Pliny.

The decadence of art had commenced even before the reign of Hadrian, and from his time onwards its downward course becomes strikingly apparent. His incessant travels throughout the provinces of the empire brought him into contact with, and apparently imbued him

with a love of novelty not always controlled by taste or judgment, when, as in the vast constructions he raised in Rome and at Tivoli, his personal intervention is only too apparent. At the mint, therefore, we are not surprised to find traces of modification and innovations evidently introduced to facilitate its productiveness, which, extensive as it undoubtedly was, would seem, even in the reigns of Vespasian and Trajan, to have occasionally been unequal to supply the demands of an empire so largely extended by those emperors, many of whose coins exhibit traces of hasty and imperfect work.

When Hadrian, therefore, tranquillised, consolidated and civilised the conquests of his predecessors, his vast expenditure called for other and readier methods of increasing the output of coin. Generally his bronze coins are smaller in size and thicker, the weight remaining about the same ; many are struck from cast flans with hammer-dressed edges, possibly to correct the imperfections of careless or hasty work. Others were evidently produced by a quite new method, the flans being cut or



TORCVLVVM . Fresco at POMPEII

FIG. II.

stamped by means of a toothed cutter of circular form somewhat similar to the shell punch of to-day, from plates of cast or beaten metal ; this may have been performed by hand, with punch and hammer or

by machinery such as the screw-press—the *torculum*. We have a representation of such a machine in a wall painting in the Fullonica at Pompeii, Fig. 11. Here, evidently, it is a clothes press, but this is immaterial, as the principle of the *cochlea*, or screw, once in use its application was certain to become general. The painting gives no indication of the material of which the machine was made, but probably, as shown it was of wood, and a similar press with the screws and plates made of metal, with the handles long enough to be worked by more than one man, would be capable of cutting metal and also many flans at each compression.

Many of the coins show beyond question that their flans were produced in some such way as this and not by casting. The traces of the cutter resemble milling, thus :—



FLAN STAMPED FROM SHEET-METAL. FIG. 12.

The incised lines are vertical and regular, and cannot be mistaken for file marks. In well preserved pieces they are patinated and this serrated edge is precisely in the same condition as the surfaces, thus proving that it was owing to the method of production.

No doubt when Hadrian was travelling through the eastern provinces he inspected colonial mints, from some of which, as early as the Claudian age, were issued bronze coins with flans undoubtedly cut by curved if not circular chisels ; possibly these suggested the improved and readier method of the screw-press, to obviate the necessity of flan casting and subsequent hammer dressing.

The cutter, or screw-press, appears to have continued in use as long as the larger bronze coins were issued, but the old system of flan casting was never altogether superseded, and under the easy government of the Antonines and the quick succession of the imperators who followed, the mint visibly declined in the quality of its work. Evidences

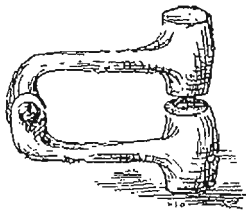
of hasty production and consequent want of care are shown in the flans being often too small to receive the entire die, or so badly cast as to be unduly thin at the points of severance, and thus incapable of proper hammer dressing, which frequently is also very imperfectly performed. Many too are badly centred or much cracked, owing to the flans being struck when over-cooled or not sufficiently heated. In addition to these defects may be noted a disregard for size and weight, and finally the intolerable abuse of official mutilation when completed. All these deteriorations point to the constant and increasing demands which at times must have been beyond the mint's power to legitimately comply with, and hence naturally followed an almost continuous decline in both quality and fabric, that was only occasionally arrested by short periods of tranquillity and prosperity.

The forms of the various dies and the methods of their manipulation are tolerably clear to us, partly from the few examples which have survived, but also from the evidence which may be gathered from the coins themselves, especially from those of careless or otherwise defective work, which have escaped the usual wear and tear. The *sestertius* from the time of Hadrian onwards was gradually reduced in size and weight, occasionally so much so that many $\text{æ}1$ of the third century are identical in size with $\text{æ}2$ of the previous centuries. Notwithstanding this, however, the facial diameter of the dies remained almost unaltered, the result being that the flans were often too small to secure the full charge even when properly centred. Imperfectly struck pieces show that the dies had a plain margin of about one-eighth of an inch wide outside the beaded circle enclosing the charge.

When in use the obverse die was apparently the top or uppermost, as most coins are more sharply struck on that face than on the reverse. This may be specially observed in the "brockage" or incuse pieces, which have the head incuse as well as in relief. Unless these were struck from an obverse top die there would be a sensible flattening of the relief. Pieces of this kind were undoubtedly produced at the mint at the time when their dies were in daily use. They were probably thus prepared for use as seals, being generally of the obverse face and too well centred and struck, to be merely chance or careless productions.

In pieces of small fabric "jumped," or double struck, examples are not uncommon, and indeed occur quite frequently in the various and very carelessly minted issues of the latter part of the third century A.D. Many of these have a suspicious look as though produced by casting, and, inferentially, by the forger, but this is not so, for one and occasionally both sides of the coin show distinct repetitions of the pattern where the flan has moved or "jumped" between the dies. When we find a piece of this kind with two sharp and clearly struck heads, whilst the reverse is from a much worn die, it is evident that such a coin, notwithstanding its suspicious appearance, could only have been struck and not cast, and also that the dies were of unequal age or use.

The dies themselves appear to have been attached or hinged together; those for gold, silver or the smaller bronze were probably manipulated single-handed, which may also account for the rarity of imperfectly struck or "jumped" pieces of the first two centuries (Fig. 13):—



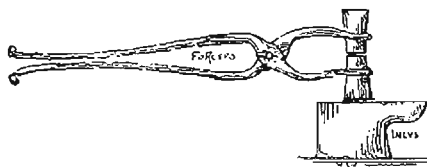
HINGED DIES. FIG. 13.



MEDIÆVAL MONEYER'S PASS. FIG. 14.

A further illustration of this method and curious also as showing its survival until a comparatively recent period, is given in Fig. 14, which represents the reverse of a so-called "moneyer's pass" prepared at the mint of Cremieu, *temp.* Charles VIII. of France, 1483-97. Here we have the hinged minting irons and the two kinds of hammers exactly as shown on the Pompeian fresco. But those dies required for minting the larger bronze *æ1* and *æ2* must have been controlled and worked in an altogether different manner, for it would be impossible for the most muscular artisan to efficiently manage a pair of dies merely gripped by forceps or tongs; therefore it is evident that the larger

dies were attached to, and worked by long handles strongly hinged together, or welded to forceps, or gripped by hinged metal rods twisted round each die like the withes of a smith's cutter, thus :—



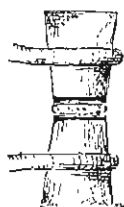
DIES HELD BY FORCEPS. FIG. 15.

There are several reasons for regarding one or all of these methods as in use at the national mints. First, because from the coins we see that when minted the dies were in a uniformly relative position, as the devices are either top to top, or top to bottom, and seldom or never in the irregular positions seen in early mediæval hand-hammered money ; where, as occasionally happens, the relief is a little out of true position, it is probably owing to one of the dies working loose in the gripper. Secondly, because as is shown by badly centred pieces, the dies were mechanically fixed, for where the flan has not been properly set between the dies, part of the impression has escaped on each face of the coin, and thus left each edge with an undue margin. Pre-imperial and colonial pieces on carelessly cast flans show this also very clearly, for where the two sides of the flan do not correspond, the fixed dies have given a complete impression to one side only, the other receiving but a portion of the device.

Thirdly, the dies must have been held and controlled at arm's length, certainly for the larger bronze coins, otherwise it would have been impossible for the workmen holding them, to avoid the danger arising from mis-strokes or slips of the hammer ; the Pompeian fresco forcibly illustrates the method of swinging the heavy sledge hammers used, and double struck coins show that two strokes at least were required to give the heated flan a satisfactory impression.

From the prodigious force required to give such high relief in a metal so hard as bronze, it is clear that the dies must have been made in a form suitable to receive and transmit the requisite force with the

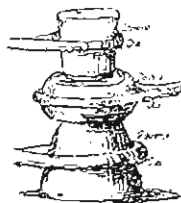
least possible strain ; their depth therefore must have been at least equal to two or three diameters, and the whole may have had somewhat this appearance :—



PROPORTIONS OF THE DIES. FIG. 16.

The *æ2*, however, do not always show the same relative precision of obverse and reverse as the *sestertii* ; pieces are frequently met with on which the figure on one side is somewhat, if not quite, crosswise to that on the other. Many are also imperfectly centred, the flan receiving on one or both sides a portion only of the die, hence it is evident that from some cause there was not the exactitude observed in the minting of these as in that of the larger pieces, although the method of production may have been similar, and not like that of the smaller coin.

It is conceivable, therefore, although it is offered here as a mere suggestion, that to economise labour and facilitate production there may have been introduced an intermediate double die, which, inserted between the hinged dies, would allow the ready minting of two coins at one operation ; some such device as this would account for any imperfection in centering or irregularity of position in obverse or reverse, and may have resembled Fig. 17.



A POSSIBLE INTERMEDIATE DIE. FIG. 17.

At this period also, the mint authorities appear to have first resorted to the extraordinary and most reprehensible practice of

mutilating, by shearing or cutting, the newly minted bronze coins previous to circulation. That this mutilation was effected in the *officina* of the mint appears to be beyond question, for none of the imperial coins previous to the reign of Antoninus Pius show any traces of reduction by cutting. However battered and worn by use, they are always found of perfect form, thus proving beyond question that the clipping, so frequent on the first bronze after Hadrian, was not the effect of private rascality which would have treated all alike, but was systematically done and under due authority.

Careful examination of well-preserved pieces shows that the clipping or shearing was performed on the finished coin, and not on the flan; the number of cuts varies from one or two in those of Antoninus Pius and his immediate successors, to four, six, and even eight in those of Valerianus and Gallienus, so that some are hexagonal or octagonal in shape instead of round, thus :—



ANTONINVS PIVS. 2 CUTS.



CARACALLA. 3 CUTS.



VALERIANVS. 7 CUTS.

COINS MUTILATED AT THE MINT. FIG. 18.

Where the cutting has been roughly done under the later imperators, some examples show that it was performed with powerful hinged shears, sometimes so carelessly that the cut extended beyond the piece to be removed, and the half-severed piece has been forcibly wrenched away.



COIN SHOWING CARELESS CLIPPING. FIG. 19.

Hammer dressing to the mutilated part is not infrequent in the earlier examples, and when this was neatly done, it minimises the mischief by giving an oval shape to the coin; but the clipping as performed under the later emperors was outrageous, and so general that round and perfect coins are very difficult to procure.

It is conceivable that this official mutilation of the national currency may have been due to a chronic and increasing shortage of metal, a deficiency, which unless met in some such way, might have reduced the tale of coin required below the fixed quantity requisite for payment of the military. This, of course, might have been met by a permanent reduction in the size or weight, as was indeed the case under Postumus and his successors, but probably the practice began as a mere passing expedient, until its convenience begat frequent usage and at length degenerated into custom. We may theorise, perhaps, that by a legal fiction one *officina* completed a certain tale of coin, and this, after passing the account, was returned or transferred to another *officina*, and there reduced as we have described previous to issue, the metal shearings being utilised for remintage.

That the mint previous to the reign of Aurelian was under lax authority, and subject at times to very great difficulties, is evident from the coinage of Postumus, who was the last emperor to issue the so-called first bronze or *sestertius*. Nearly all his actual coins are of very rude work, and some of his first and second æ have reverses from dies of smaller sized coins. He also resorted to the expedient of restamping the earlier and much worn *sestertii* issued from the time of Augustus to that of the Antonines, and still in circulation, but with his own effigy and titles, as if he were unable at the time to maintain the requisite issue of coin in its proper form. Many of these overstruck pieces exhibit clear traces of the effigies and titles of the emperors under whom they were originally issued, where these are not completely obliterated by his own; and among them may occasionally be found the large, well spread, and unclipped pieces issued down to the time of Trajan.

Postumus was the last emperor to issue the *sestertius* even in this degenerate shape, and from this time forwards the older currency is

replaced by one of smaller fabric, generally of excellent work, which in its turn at length almost disappears in the minute coinage of the fourth and fifth centuries. Indeed, many of the small *æs* from Tacitus A.D. 267, to Carinus A.D. 284, are so beautifully executed as to warrant the supposition of their being the work of *signatores*, accustomed to the smaller and finer work required for the dies of gold and silver money, and as the mintage of the precious metals was almost suspended at this period, it is not unlikely that the better class of artists would be retained in preference to others whose work betrays their inferiority, and whose presumed dismissal from office may also be responsible for some, at least, of the many irregular multipliers of the currency, who were much in evidence at this time.

But there is, indeed, much reason to believe that this official mutilation of the coinage was not the only way in which the Roman mint lent itself to irregular, if not fraudulent practices. Of the later consular times we have quantities of plated *denarii* of excellent design and workmanship, which have quite the appearance of the genuine coin, and yet are merely flans of copper or base metal covered with a thin casing of silver. Some of these, we know, were prepared for, or at the instance of unscrupulous politicians or their partisans for gratuities, votive offerings, or payments where lack of means rendered the gift of genuine coin impossible. To produce this class of coin the mint must have possessed special appliances and skilled workmen for their ready fabrication, otherwise the cost of production would have approximated, or even exceeded their current value. During imperial times also, we have plated *denarii* of such perfect make as to be indistinguishable from the genuine coin, except where corrosion or accident has revealed their baseness. These also we may regard as prepared at the mint, probably for offerings and gifts, or bribes to the military, or for free distributions to attain or regain popular favour. The fabrication of this species of "money of necessity" ceased when the *antoniniani*, and other money of debased metal, became a part of the national coinage, for there was no longer any occasion for its issue, and it ceased to be of profit when the government could lower the standard at its pleasure. The pieces of the later imperators of very base metal

that we occasionally meet with, we may regard as the productions of the amateur moneyer, or forger, whose moulds and methods of fabrication are not unknown to us.

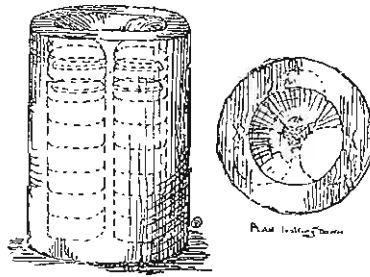
The silver- or tin-washed coins of the third and fourth centuries A.D., of bronze or copper coins come under a different category, and the washing should not be regarded as in any way a falsification of the currency, for the larger pieces, or second bronze, were much larger and heavier than the genuine or pseudo-silver coins. In finds that comprise a large number of pieces, they are mixed indiscriminately with the plain or unwashed money, whilst the silver or pseudo-silver coins are usually found together; in addition to this, the washing was frequently of so slight a character, that in most cases it has almost disappeared from specimens that are otherwise quite well preserved, or practically uncirculated.

Tinning and silvering was an art very well understood by most Celtic peoples, and especially so in Gaul and Britain; therefore such a superficial treatment was not likely to be of use as a means of imposition; at any rate, whether such pieces were or were not imposed by authority at a higher value on issue, the indiscriminate blending of plain copper or bronze with the washed coins seems to indicate that by the populace they were held in no special value as superior money. Possibly, however, this silvering or tinning was a purely decorative affair for festive distributions of money to the populace.

Preferentially, these coins seem to have been used in sacred offerings at springs, fords, and wells presumed to be presided over by local deities. Deposits found at these and similar places are usually in a much corroded state, but some of them show a fair proportion of pieces preserving traces of this treatment. The suppliant was probably wishful to emphasize his devotion by offering the most attractive and seemingly valuable of his possessions. The worn out or discarded coin moulds of terra cotta occasionally found with such deposits may, by an association of ideas, have been also regarded as sacred objects or treated as pious offerings.

The work of the forger, disreputable as it undoubtedly is, should not be allowed to pass unnoticed, especially as at times there may be

some difficulty in deciding the boundary between "irregularity" and absolute fraud. Coin-moulds made of baked clay or terra cotta have been frequently found in almost every country where the Roman held sway. They vary greatly both in quality of make and capacity for production, from single pieces to a considerable number of moulds grouped together; some when found still contained coins, others were evidently rejected or worn out, and so had been cast away as worthless or past use. At Duston, in Northampton, many were found in wells of contemporary date where they had been thrown. These moulds seemed to have been arranged in rouleaux, and then coated with clay to fasten them together previous to the metal being introduced. Again, at Polden Hill in Somerset, several groups of moulds were found; many of these were arranged vertically in triple piles with an outer shell, the metal being poured through the central opening, thus :—



COIN-MOULDS ARRANGED FOR CASTING. FIG. 20.

Some of these still retained the coins cast in them, and the moulds were for producing the coins of the imperators Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla, Plautilla, Geta, Macrinus, Elagabalus, Alexander Severus, Julia Mamaea, Maximinus, and Maximus, ranging from A.D. 193 to A.D. 235, a period of over forty years. As many of these personages followed each other in anything but friendly succession, the simultaneous production by authority of these coins was clearly an impossibility.

The above figure (20) shows the ingenious method by which the forger could readily produce his ware, and it has also a scientific compactness that may be the echo of some authorised or colonial mint.

Again, at Damery in Epernay in the year 1829, there were discovered the remains of a coin manufactory which had been destroyed by fire whilst still in use, for amongst the ruined walls were found many earthenware jars or vases full of coins ; one contained over 2,000 of Postumus, and others those of various imperators from Antoninus Pius to Postumus. These were all forgeries of *denarii* and *antoniniani* of poor fabric and very base metal : there was also a vast number of $\text{æ}3$ and small bronze, mostly of Constantine II. and Constans, reputed to have been minted at Rome, Constantinople, Treves, Lyons, Arles, Aquilea, and other towns, but as nearly all were in uncirculated state it is most likely they were produced where discovered, especially as with the moulds there were also found shears and other tools and implements used in coining.

But the forger, perchance occasionally an ex-official of the mint, seems to have been constantly, and for a lengthened period, at work all over the ancient world, and by preference wherever money had a higher value, and was least liable to detection. *Sestertii* even of lead have been dredged up from the bed of the Thames in London, and recovered from excavations in Lincoln and other towns of equal importance, and leaden *denarii* of Trajan and Hadrian have been found at Maryport in Cumberland.

That many of these productions were the work or tools of the forger there can be no reasonable doubt, although the shy and retiring nature of his business renders the discovery of so many of his haunts somewhat remarkable, especially as he is generally compelled to work with limited appliances that are almost as readily prepared as destroyed.

Those, however, of a more important and extensive kind such as the equipment we have mentioned at Damery, must have been at work for many years during the third and fourth centuries, and have employed a considerable number of men. Establishments such as this, in remote districts during distracted times may, under military authority, have been permitted as a kind of irregular mint for the occasional production of money of a sort, or "of necessity," for the payment of the military, and where the regular supply from authorised mints was either intercepted or not forthcoming. If this were so, it

would account for the miscellaneous types of the terra cotta dies with their rough and ready products, and for the absence of regular metal dies.

The scarcity of these forged coins also, or at least of those which we may safely regard as such, is equally remarkable, especially when we consider the vast quantities that must have been produced from so many irregular or fraudulent sources and during several centuries. Probably the chief reason may be that the forger would get his ware as quickly as possible into circulation; hence most of it would disappear with the usual currency of the time, whilst the great mass of ancient coin in the hands of collectors is selected from the numerous "finds" of the present day, many of which from their fine preservation appear to have been the "military chests" of garrisons, and supplied directly from official mints.

Most of the later *denarii*, *antoniniani*, and smaller bronze coins belong to the period when the forger was at work. Yet suspicious as many of these may seem to be, they are mostly genuine, the worn or cast appearance, usually of the reverse, is due entirely to the long continued use of that portion of the minting irons being continued in the service of many successive masters, whose effigies in the upper or obverse half, owing to frequent replacement, are generally quite fresh and sharp.

Improper and severe practices occasionally resorted to for the removal of oxide, or for other cleaning purposes, have subjected many fine pieces to destructive treatment, the hallucinations of imprudent possessors frequently reducing well preserved and genuine coins to a condition in which they are hardly to be distinguished from the work of the forger. The wary student, however, will keep in mind the methods by which the true coin was made, and suffer his judgment to be ruled by this alone.

In the ancient world, the metal or amalgam known to us as bronze occupied the place now held by iron and steel. It was of the highest importance in the production of works of art, and was almost solely used in the manufacture of weapons, tools and utensils of all kinds where strength, lightness and durability were essential. Bronze,

generally so-called, is an amalgam of copper with tin, or lead or zinc, or a combination of all of these metals in the proportion of copper 75 per cent., tin 15 per cent., and lead or zinc 10 per cent., but a higher quality eschews all other alloy than tin, and this in the proportion of $\frac{1}{10}$ to $\frac{9}{10}$ copper. It is remarkable that the earliest productions in this metal approach the higher standard, notwithstanding the evident difficulty that must have then attended the procuration of tin. The best bronzes, whether of arms, coins or other works of art produced in Greece and Syria, as well as the weapons and tools of Celtic peoples, generally approximate this proportion, and an analysis of various ancient articles of bronze given by Dr. Smith in his *Greek and Roman Antiquities* provides us with an interesting confirmation, thus—

“some bronze nails from the ruins of the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ; some ancient coins of Corinth; a very ancient Greek helmet, on which is a Constrophedon inscription, now in the British Museum; portions of the breastplate of a piece of armour called the Bronzes of Siris, also preserved in our national collection; and an antique sword found in France; produced in 100 parts, 87·43 and 88 copper, and 12·53 and 12 tin. At a later period to that of which some of the above works may be referred, the addition of a variety of metals seems to have been made to the original combinations of copper and tin.”

We may therefore attribute the high quality of the metal of these early times to the facilities afforded by the Phœnician and Syrian markets, whose adventurous traders sought out, developed and monopolised the remote sources whence the world's supply of tin was obtained.

By some unaccountable supineness or neglect, there has never been any extensive scientific analysis made of the various bronze coinages of the ancient world, although material of the very best kind for the purpose, in the shape of worn-out coins of all countries and periods can be obtained in abundance. Occasional tests that have been made supply interesting data, and it is not unlikely that if this analysis were pursued to any extent and the results duly recorded, it might throw curious and really valuable sidelights on the causes and consequences of many historical events; perhaps substituting fact for

conjecture or, at least, increasing the balance of probability. As, for instance, where some important event resulting in spoliation or conquest was obscure to us from want of proper historical record, if it could be established that the event was followed by a marked improvement in the quality of the bronze currency of the conqueror, and that this might be due to the metal derived from the conquered, then the evidence of such a sudden change would certainly be of value as pointing to cause and effect, and so to some extent determine an otherwise doubtful point.

Examination of the large coins of the early republic, the *æs rude* and *æs signatum*, shows them to be made of a very coarse amalgam of many metals, principally copper, lead and zinc, with only slight traces of tin. They are quite similar to those of the surrounding communities which were successively absorbed, and it was not until the more distant Greek colonies and cities that lined the southern coasts of Italy, and the Phœnician settlements of the Mediterranean came under the dominion of Rome, that its coinage rose in artistic quality, and was made of a higher and more enduring standard of metal.

The successive conquests by the republic, of Carthage and its numerous dependencies, of Iberia, Syria and Greece, for a long time supplied the state with material, the *spolia* of war, of a much better kind than that previously obtainable, for the bronze used in those countries was of high quality owing to the large proportion of tin it contained, the eastern markets being well supplied with that metal by the Phœnician traders. But as Rome, in the latter days of the republic, rapidly absorbed nearly all the known world, the higher quality of bronze was required for the proper equipment of its gigantic military power, the state, no doubt, regarding this as of greater importance than the currency; hence, after a time, we find the quality of the latter gradually retrograding still further, until it was made almost entirely of copper or copper with base alloy; and the careless and inartistic nature of nearly all the bronze money from the end of the republic even far into the reign of Augustus, speaks for the authority of the military over civil rule. Gradually, however, the politic and pacific administration of Augustus and of many of his immediate successors established a long

period of almost unbroken prosperity, during which time the personal munificence of the emperors and of many of the great patrician families, inspired by the assimilation of Greek genius and enriched with the spoils and wealth of the world, created throughout Italy, but especially in Rome, a vast succession of edifices of almost unsurpassable magnificence, temples, *fora*, palaces, *thermæ*, triumphal arches, columns, and statues that had been the glory of Hellas in her prime. All that genius could produce, or boundless wealth procure, was gathered within its walls, and clothed its seven hills with a mantle worthy of the gods: even in this our day, although the obliterations of time have obscured its annals, and barbarian and ignorant intolerance played havoc with its material glories, its ruin is the ruin of a Titan, and in its fragments it is Olympian and eternal.

The imperial coinage of this the golden age of Rome, although made and issued as money or coin is medallion in fabric, and the coins really medallions recording its triumphant progress, being, indeed, eloquent witnesses at once of its sovereignty in both art and power. The money of Tiberius, Caius, Claudius and Nero displays both rapid and continuous advancement. The quality of the artist is seen in the beautifully designed and executed figures that grace the reverses, and in the skilful conventionalism that gave a touch of majesty to the imperial or other portraits, not always possessed by the originals.

From the time of Claudius to that of Hadrian the material also is of improved quality, the bronze being much finer and composed almost entirely of copper and tin. Under the milder and weaker rule of the Antonines, however, there is a considerable degree of debasement perceptible, tin and lead forming the alloy in about equal proportions, the copper remaining as before or about 75 per cent.; but with Septimius Severus, his sons and immediate successors, the metal is again frequently of excellent quality. Gradually this, however, was reduced to the previous standard and was followed, later still, by greater debasement that ultimately resulted in the use of practically pure copper.

Experience teaches us that all change is due to some cause, hidden or otherwise, rather than to chance, and in the case of a people

so observant of rule and custom, so averse to change as the Romans undoubtedly were, we should look for a cause arising either from policy or necessity. The history of a people is written on its coinage in more ways than one. Prosperity and a high civilisation are seldom recorded by degradation of metal, fabric or design, and it is rare, indeed, to instance the continuous progress of a nation where its monetary monuments threaten an even occasional relapse into the barbaric.

The mutations of time are nowhere so completely and eloquently expressed as in the extended and elaborate coinage of Rome, from the rude vigour of its mighty youth to the splendour of its manhood, and thence during the slow decrepitude of its decline. For the gradual degradation of type both in portraiture and figurative design, we have ample cause in the invasions and internal convulsions of the empire from the second century onwards, when the insecurity of life and property everywhere caused the prosperity and vitality of art to decline; and although we discover occasional glimpses of spirited work in coins of even the third and fourth centuries, yet the excellence of the preceding period never reappears, and all gradually fades into a complete and final debasement of design, work, fabric and metal.

The historical connection of Britain with Rome and its mint commences with the earlier Cæsars, on whose coins, and on those of Hadrian, the Antonines and Septimius Severus and his sons, the importance of the newly acquired province is frequently attested. Britain's increasing importance is also shown by the establishment of local mints in the third and fourth centuries that produced a vast quantity of the smaller coin issued on the suppression of the *sestertius* in A.D. 267. The London mint appears to have been established by or in the reign of Diocletian, A.D. 284-305, and to have continued in active operation for a little over a century, its latest known issues being those of Magnus Maximus, A.D. 383-388. The coins of Constantinus Maximus, A.D. 306-337, are mostly of very good quality both in design and fabric, and may have been the work of native artists; but all detail of this nature is rather outside the purport of the writer, whose aim is to show how, from an extremely remote period, the

mineral wealth of Britain may have enriched the treasures of the ancient world, when even Rome itself was but in the lap of the gods.

Incidentally, however, it may be remarked that although the first Roman mint in Britain was established either by Diocletian or by Carausius, who may have issued coins bearing Diocletian's effigy and name, there is yet considerable reason for supposing that dies made at the mint at Rome may have been actually used in Britain as early as the reign of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138-161, for $\text{æ}1$ and $\text{æ}2$ of that and later emperors are occasionally found here in excellent, if not uncirculated condition. Many of these pieces, however, are of imperfect fabric, imperfectly centred, and badly struck, and bear the appearance of having been produced by men inexperienced in the use of dies and other minting tools. That coins of this defective make may have been struck in Britain is not improbable when we consider how advantageous to the authorities would be the power of readily producing coin in a remote province, which was abundantly supplied with both skilled labour and suitable material.

It is a question not easily resolvable, whether, when the Phœnicians first beached their galleys on the shores of southern Britain, they were in quest of the possible or in search of the absolute—of the unknown, or of tin.

Tin to the ancients meant many things other than a mere commodity of value. It was to them not only one of the most valuable of metals, but more essential even than gold; for from its admixture with copper, previous to the introduction of iron, were made the tools and weapons of antiquity, and its use as a creative implement or agent is probably coeval with the dawn of recorded history.

Four countries only are reputed to have produced this coveted metal, two in Asia and two in Europe. The Asiatic mines were in Ceylon and Southern India, and an island off the Arabian coast called Panchaia. Diodorus Siculus, however, says that from this island none was exported, and it is now known also that India, instead of exporting, actually imported from the west the tin she required. Hence we find that the entire supply of tin consumed by the ancient world for at least ten centuries B.C. was obtained from the European

mines; these were confined to a very small area in Iberia or Spain, and to those in south-west Britain. Cornwall, the portion of Britain nearest to the Cassiterides, was known as *Kernew*, *i.e.*, the Cape of the Horn, its Arabic equivalents being *Karn* = horn and *uwal* = cape; likewise the Cymric *ystaen* = tin is *Estanua* in the Basque and *stannum* in Latin, probably all derived from the Punic.

Poseidonius, *ob.* 51 B.C., says of Iberia that the extreme north-west of the country of the Artibri was bright with tin, silver and white-gold probably electrum, and that these metals were found in the sands of rivers. Iberia or ancient Spain was sprinkled with towns of Phœnician origin, which were probably founded by these enterprising prospectors whilst over-running the country in search of the coveted metals. At the present time, however, the whole of the tin-bearing area is little more than a square mile in extent. Sir G. C. Lewis says that "we are, therefore, driven to conclude that it was from the Cassiterides, or tin districts of Cornwall and Devon, that the Phœnicians obtained the great bulk of this commodity." Strabo, the Roman geographer, who lived in the Augustan age, has much interesting and valuable information. He says:—

"The Cassiterides are ten in number and lie near each other in the ocean towards the north from the haven of the Artibri. One of them is desert, but the others are inhabited by men in black cloaks, clad in tunics reaching to the feet, girt about the breast, and walking with staves, thus resembling the *furies* we see in tragic representations" (these were probably Druids); "they subsist by their cattle, leading for the most part a wandering life. Of the metals, they have tin and lead, which with skins they barter with the merchants for earthenware, salt and bronze vessels. Formerly, the Phœnicians alone carried on this traffic from Gades (Cadiz), concealing the passage from everyone, and when the Romans followed a certain shipmaster that they might also find the market, the shipmaster of jealousy purposely ran his vessel upon a shoal, leading on those who followed him into the same destructive disaster; he himself escaped by means of a fragment of the ship, and received from the state" (*i.e.*, the Carthaginian government) "the value of the cargo he had lost. The Romans, nevertheless, by frequent efforts discovered the passage, and as soon as Publius Crassus passing over to them perceived that the metals were dug out at a little depth, and that the men were peaceably disposed, he declared it to those

who already wished to traffic in the sea for profit, although the passage was longer than that to Britain."

Hence the Carthaginians appear to have arranged a special over-seas route between Carthage or Gades and the Cassiterides, probably using quick sailing vessels suitable for light cargoes only, and well adapted for escape if pursued. Strabo adds :—

"There are four passages commonly used from the Continent to the island, namely, from the mouth of the rivers Rhine, Seine, Loire and Garonne ; it produces corn, cattle, gold, silver and iron."

The Cassiterides, or Scilly Isles, evidently not being regarded as part of Britain.

"They import from Keltica, ivory bracelets and necklaces, amber, vessels of glass and small wares."

But that tin was obtained elsewhere in Britain is evident as Diodorus Siculus, another writer of the same age, says :—

"Tin is brought from an island in front of Britain" (*Vectis*, the Isle of Wight), "being purchased there from native merchants, and is thence transhipped to Gaul and carried on pack horses to the Rhone." Strabo says, "a thirty days' journey," and quoting Polybius, he adds, "The Marseillaise merchants, when interrogated by Scipio, had nothing to tell about Britain worth mentioning, nor yet had the Narbonnaise, nor those of Corbilon, notwithstanding that they were the principal cities of the district."

Herodotus, in the fifth century B.C., shows us how in those early days, even amongst learned men, fact and fiction went hand in hand, for he writes, *b.* 111, *ch.* 115 :—

"Concerning the western extremities of Europe I am unable to speak with certainty, for I do not admit that there is a river, called by barbarians Eridanus, which discharges itself into the sea towards the north, from which amber is said to come."

Nevertheless, this river of which he was so doubtful was probably the Albis or Elbe. "Nor am I acquainted with the Cassiterides islands whence our tin comes." This passage points to Britain as the then chief, if not only known source ; he continues :—

"However, both tin and amber come to us from the remotest parts. Towards the north of Europe there is evidently a great quantity

of gold, but how procured I am unable to say with certainty ; although it is said that the Arimaspians, a one-eyed people, steal it from the Griffins. Neither do I believe this, that men are born with one eye, and yet in other respects resemble the rest of mankind. However, the extremities of the world seem to surround and enclose the rest of the earth, and to possess those productions which we account most excellent and rare."

That gold was obtained in considerable quantity from the mines of Britain is evidenced by the massive and beautifully worked articles of personal adornment and implements of native work found in Britain and Ireland.

Rawlinson in his *History of Phœnicia*, referring to their over-seas trade, says :—

"Outside the Pillars of Hercules, the Phœnicians had only savage nations to deal with, and with these they seem to have traded mainly for the purpose of obtaining certain natural products, either peculiarly valuable, or scarcely obtainable elsewhere. Their trade with the Scilly Islands and the coast of Cornwall was especially for the procuring of tin. Of all the metals, tin is found in the fewest places, and though Spain seems to have yielded some anciently, yet it can only have been in small quantities, while there was an enormous demand for tin in all parts of the old world, since bronze was the material almost universally employed for arms, tools, implements and utensils of all kinds, while tin is the most important, though not the largest element in bronze. From the time that the Phœnicians discovered the Scilly Islands—the 'Tin Islands' (Cassiterides) as they called them—it is probable that the tin of the civilised world was almost wholly derived from this quarter. Eastern Asia, no doubt, had always its own mines, and may have exported tin to some extent ; in the remoter times, supplying perhaps the needs of Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon. But, after the rich stores of the metal which our own islands possess were laid open, and the Phœnicians, with their extensive commercial dealings, both in the west and in the east, became interested in diffusing it, British tin probably drove all other out of use, and obtained the monopoly of the markets wherever Phœnician influence prevailed."

Some of the ancient writers, such as Poseidonius and Diodorus Siculus, were men of considerable travel, and write of things and places they had seen, and others, such as Himilco, who visited Britain and

Northern Europe in the fourth century B.C., were sent by the Carthaginian government on voyages of discovery.

A remarkable and most interesting account of the methods of Punic or Phœnician enterprise is supplied by the voyage of Hanno of Carthage, along the western coast of Africa. Authorities are not agreed as to the exact date, which is variously estimated between 570 B.C. and 470 B.C. The original account was inscribed on tablets which were deposited in the temple of Saturn at Carthage. These disappeared when the city was destroyed by the Romans, but fortunately a Greek translation has preserved for us the substance of the text, which runs as follows :—

“It was decreed by the Carthaginians that Hanno should undertake a voyage beyond the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar) and found Liby-Phœnician cities. He sailed accordingly, with sixty ships of fifty oars each, and a body of men and women to the number of thirty thousand, and provisions and other necessities.”

After sailing for two days he landed and founded the city of Cerne, and then, resuming his voyage south, landed the remainder of the emigrants on an island near the coast, ten degrees north of the equator. This island was probably Arguin, which answers to the position and is about the same distance south of the Pillars of Hercules as they are west of Carthage.

After parting with his settlers, Hanno proceeded at once on his voyage of discovery, passing the Senegal and Cape Verde and reaching the Cameroons, where he remarks the volcano and says :

“The country around seemed full of fire, and in the middle of it were flames far higher than the rest, which seemed to touch the stars.”

It was night when he arrived, but when day came he found the fire was from a high mountain, which he named “the Chariot of the Gods.” Proceeding still farther south he remarked the savage people, covered with hair. The account continues :

“Though we pursued the men we could not catch any of them, they all fled from us, leaping over the precipices and defending themselves with stones. We caught three of the women, but they attacked us with tooth and nails, and could not be persuaded to return

with us; accordingly we killed and flayed them and took their skins with us to Carthage. We did not sail further, our provisions failing us."

The native interpreters of the expedition called these strange creatures *gorillae*; in all probability these were similar to the "monstrous apes" re-discovered and so named by Duchaillu about 1860.

The original commemorative^a inscription did not exceed one hundred lines, but Vivienne St. Martin says that :—

"In spite of this extreme conciseness, there is not one of its details, whether of localities or distances, which is not rigorously conformable to the very accurate acquaintance which we now have of these coasts."

Herodotus also, when writing of the Carthaginians, remarks :—

"They say that beyond the Pillars of Hercules there is a region of Libya and men who inhabit it. When they arrive among these people and have unloaded their merchandise, they set it in order on the shore, go on board their ships and make a great smoke, that the inhabitants seeing the smoke, come down to the sea and then deposit gold in exchange for the merchandise; that the Carthaginians then going ashore examine the gold, and if the quantity seems sufficient for the merchandise, they take it up and sail away, but if it is not sufficient they go on board their ships again and wait; the natives then approach and deposit more gold until they have satisfied them; neither party ever wrongs the other, for they do not touch the gold until it is made adequate to the value of the merchandise, nor do the natives touch the merchandise before the other party has taken the gold."

From this it would appear that the Carthaginian merchants were essentially fair traders, and no doubt the methods pursued on the western coast of Africa represent their usual enterprise and integrity as a trading community on other shores.

That the Carthaginians or their Phœnician kindred sailed entirely round Africa is certain, for Herodotus says :—

"The Carthaginians say that Libya is surrounded by water."

By Libya, the ancients understood Africa outside Egypt and the Mediterranean coast; and continuing, he adds :—

"Where the meridian declines towards the setting sun the Ethiopian territory reaches . . . it produces much gold, huge elephants, wild

trees of all kinds, ebony, and men of large stature, very handsome and long lived."

—evidently referring to the various Kaffir tribes of southern Africa.

Rawlinson in his *History of Phœnicia*, says :—

"The mission of the Phœnicians, as a people, was accomplished before the subjection to Rome began. Under the Romans they were still ingenuous, industrious, intelligent. But in the earlier times they were far more than this. They were the great pioneers of civilisation. Intrepid, inventive, enterprising, they at once made vast progress in the arts themselves, and carried their knowledge, their active habits, and their commercial instincts into the remotest regions of the old continent. They exercised a stimulating, refining and civilising influence wherever they went. North and south and east and west they adventured themselves amid perils of all kinds, actuated by the love of adventure more than by thirst for gain, conferring benefits, spreading knowledge, suggesting, encouraging and developing trade, turning men from the barbarous and unprofitable pursuits of war and bloodshed to the peaceful occupations of productive industry. They did not aim at conquest. They united the various races of men by the friendly links of mutual advantage and mutual dependence, conciliated them, softened them, humanised them ; while, among the nations of the earth generally, brute force was worshipped as the true source of power and the only basis of national repute, the Phœnicians succeeded in proving that as much could be done by arts as by arms, as great glory and reputation gained, as real a power built up by the quiet agencies of exploration, trade and commerce, as by the violent and brutal methods of war, massacre and ravage. They were the first to set this example. If the history of the world since their time has not been wholly one of potency in human affairs of ' blood and iron,' it is very much owing to them. They, and their kinsmen of Carthage, showed mankind what a power might be wielded by commercial states."

The conquest and tranquillisation of Gaul by Julius Cæsar brought Rome in touch with northern Europe and the British Isles, and with the completeness that marked his system, although the restless tribes of Gaul required ceaseless vigilance, the dictator passed over into southern Britain, giving the natives a short military parade by way of warning as a notice of changes to come. Probably he intended nothing more than a tour of observation unless forced into hostilities, and his *Commentaries* show with what penetration he remarked the main

features of that part of the island which came under his observation—the appearance and qualities of its people and their customs and productions.

Public interest, quickened, no doubt, by curiosity, drew the Roman over land and sea directly into Britain. Phœnician and Carthaginian guile had hitherto invested these remote "Islands of the West" with fearful and fantastic mystery, but the philosophic Roman swept aside these incredible accounts, as merely fictions invented to conceal the source of treasures invaluable to the state.

During the third Punic war even Scipio could obtain no satisfactory information from the merchants of Massilia as to where the supply of tin was obtained; but when the Carthaginian power passed away, the secret so well kept for many centuries was transferred with the control of the seas into the hands of the Romans; and Publius Crassus, the dictator's commander in Gaul, at length ascertained whence and how this and other commodities of great value were obtained.

The interval of nearly ninety years that ensued from Cæsar's landing in 55 B.C. to the coming of Claudius in A.D. 43, may, so far as Britain is concerned, be regarded as a pacific interlude during which the Romans, by the friendly intercourse of trade, would fully acquaint themselves with the mineral and other riches of the country, the localities from which these were obtained and the best methods of controlling and working them.

This pacific interval, during which the Britons, subject to an easy tribute, continued to enjoy their independence, was perhaps owing to the unsettled and rebellious state of the tribes of Gaul and Germany during the greater part of that period, but more probably to the fact that an arm of the sea, narrow indeed, but of rough and difficult passage, separated them from the mainland.

The reign of Claudius marks a period when Rome had reduced to comparative tranquillity and assimilated the vast regions which previous conquests had brought under her sway. Claudius, as an emperor, has met with but scant justice, for contemporary prejudice still seems to overshadow him; yet the recorded facts of his reign show

him to have been a patient, honest-minded and far-seeing ruler, who had the true welfare of his country at heart; his extensive additions to the buildings of Rome were of the most useful and enduring character, and for the public good rather than the outcome of mere ostentatious or selfish gratification: his ministers were selected with judgment. Vespasian and Galba, both afterwards imperators, were appointed to high military commands, and his mild and merciful nature is shown by his treatment of the captured British king, Caractacus, who, instead of being put to the usual violent death, was preserved and assigned a position in Rome suitable to his rank.

The following is a brief recital of the successive stages by which the complete subjugation of all Britain was effected:—

- A.D. 43. Claudius Cæsar inaugurates the conquest, and by his generals, Aulus Plautius and under him Vespasian, reduced a considerable part of southern Britain into subjection.
- A.D. 60. Suetonius resolves to extirpate Druidism, the national religion. This and other very oppressive measures lead to a general rising of the Britons under Boudicca, the suppression of which was only effected after dire slaughter on both sides.
- A.D. 78. Vespasian sends Agricola to conciliate and Romanise the province. He controls the various tribes by garrisons and military roads, establishes municipal institutions, and by just administration effects the pacification of all Britain as far as the Humber; proceeding northwards as far as the Grampians he defeats and subdues the Caledonians, but whilst civilising and utilising the natives he is recalled by Domitian in A.D. 84.
- A.D. 120. The Emperor Hadrian, on his tour of inspection of all the provinces of the empire, visits Britain. He creates or extends, on a pre-existing British basis, the fortified line known as the Roman wall, from Newcastle to Carlisle. Many of the towns are enriched with buildings or enlarged and enclosed by walls and gates.

A.D. 140. Antoninus Pius visits Britain and strengthens the fortifications erected in Caledonia by Agricola, and from similar work repeated by Severus and his successors, it appears that these were regarded as outposts of the empire in Britain.

The successive campaigns of Vespasian to Septimius Severus, by which the entire island was brought into subjection, were, there can be no doubt, the outcome of a desire to obtain and thoroughly search a land apparently so rich in mineral wealth, rather than of mere lust of conquest. It was the custom of the Romans to relinquish any district or country that did not pay the cost of possession; hence the sterile north of Britain was abandoned and Ireland not even invaded; whilst the rich mining districts of Wales and Britain were firmly held until the final retirement of the legions from the island; and we may, with absolute certainty, decide that it was the prolific mines of tin, copper, lead, iron and even gold that attracted the Romans to our shores, and which, to enable them to effectually work, caused them, during their 400 years of occupation, to cover the land with a network of military roads, towns, *castra*, stations and garrisons such as is scarcely to be paralleled out of Italy.

There is also a certain significance in that the two first imperators, who attempted the subjugation of Britain, were both authors and intimately acquainted with the Phœnicians as a people. Julius Cæsar, by his personal conquest of Iberia, was brought into close contact with them as colonists, and must have become well informed as to their manufactures and resources. Whilst Claudius, wisely escaping from the dangers of the court and political life, passed his earlier years in literary studies with the historian Livy; and though of his writings little has survived but the titles, yet it is not without emotion that we may conjecture what is lost to us of antiquarian value in his histories of the Etruscans and Carthaginians.

When the metallic products of Britain first found their way into the East, it was from the hands and by the secret methods and tortuous routes of the Phœnician traders, who at once discouraged competition and entertained their customers with fantastic accounts of our, to

them unknown and semi-fabulous, land. For a thousand years before the Christian era, Syrian, Greek and Jew had marvelled over the mysterious "Islands of the West," hanging, as it were, on the verge of the world, whence was procured the *kassiteros* or bright tin which enriched the markets of Tyre.

"Tarshish¹ was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all kind of riches ; with silver, iron, tin and lead they traded in thy fairs."—Ezekiel xxvii, 12.

Homer also describes the armour of Agamemnon as decorated with this metal.

"The beaming cuirass next adorned his breast,
The same which once King Cinyrass possessed,

Ten rows of azure steel the work enfold,
Twice ten of tin and twelve of glittering gold.

His buckler's mighty orb was next displayed,
That round the warrior cast a dreadful shade,
Ten zones of brass its ample brim surround
And twice ten bosses the bright convex crowned."

Pope's translation. *Iliad*, B. xi, 25-46.

Copper, tin and gold were also used by Hephæstus in welding the famous shield of Achilles.

"In hissing flames huge silver bars are roll'd
And stubborn brass, and tin, and solid gold.

and in its decoration metals of various colours are used, thus —

"A darker metal mixed intrenched the place
And pales of glittering tin the enclosure grace.

This done, whate'er a warrior's use requires
He forged ; the cuirass that outshone the fires
The greaves of ductile tin, the helm impress'd
With various sculpture, and the golden crest."

Iliad, xviii, 545-708.

¹ Tarsish or Tartessus in Iberia to the Jews meant an unknown region at or beyond the extreme west of the Mediterranean Sea.

Hesiod also mentions the melting of tin in a smelting pot. Moses found it among the spoils of the Midianites (Numbers xxxi, 22), and in many other parts of the Old Testament its various uses are referred to.

Hence, it is evident that the commercial centres and markets of the ancient world were fully aware, at a very early date, of its value as an indispensable alloy in all metallic productions, where strength and lightness were of the first importance, and as, so far as we know, little, if any, was obtained from the East, and as the mines and rivers of Iberia supplied but a limited quantity, we are justified in concluding that the British Isles were the chief source whence it was obtained.

Rome undoubtedly obtained her supply from the Phœnicians, who generally found her more ready to take by capture than acquire by purchase. Probably much of the tin or tin-alloyed bronze she obtained was consumed in the manufacture of weapons and tools, as on examination we find that most of the early republican coins are chiefly alloyed with lead or zinc, and it was not until she acquired, by the plunder of the East, such vast quantities of finer metal that we perceive much improvement in monetary bronze.

The Greek, Syrian, and Egyptian bronze, whether in manufactured articles or coin, is usually found to be of good quality, and generally alloyed with tin: and one use of the *spolia* obtained by Rome in her conquests of the East is quite apparent in the finer quality of the coin. But as the store of this *spolia* became exhausted from the vast quantity of arms and other military appliances required in the later wars of the republic, and under Julius, we find the mint recurring to the use of inferior bronze and even copper, of which metals most of the coins of Augustus, Tiberius, Caius, and the earlier issues of Claudius are made.

When Claudius, therefore, in A.D. 43 obtained by conquest the whole of southern Britain he would necessarily secure possession of the tin mines of Cornwall and Devon, and thus with those in Iberia was master of all the known sources of supply.

The later coins of Claudius and those of his successors to Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, are generally of very fine work and excellent metal. Those recovered from the Tiber and similar waters are

frequently quite fresh and uncorroded, their preservation and durability testifying to the high quality of the metal used by the mint at this period.

As previously remarked, the mild and indulgent government of the Antonines is curiously evidenced by the general inferiority of their bronze coinage, which in metal and fabric, no less than by the official mutilation, bespeaks the absence of form and due control. Under Septimius Severus, however, and some of the emperors to Gordian III., efforts were evidently made, with varying success, to restore the bronze currency to something approaching its ancient dignity, but the failing fortunes of the empire, the confusion and discord consequent on the quick succession of rulers, most of whom were little other than military tyrants, and, as though the sources of supply were becoming exhausted, the substitution of coins of small size and value in place of the large and handsome pieces formerly issued, were all factors that at length reduced the mint at Rome to a position inferior to many colonial mints, such as those in Gaul and Britain, and finally in the suppression or cessation of all except that of Constantinople and its daughter mints.

The silence of history, other than by occasional references, would leave much to mere conjecture as to why, from the earliest ages, Britain was such an object of mysterious interest to the ancient world, were it not that by a happy concordance of cause and effect, we perceive the one supplying the requirements of the other.

When and in what way the metal tin was here discovered, it may ever be impossible for us to learn, but it is highly probable that the Phœnician argonauts introduced the art of its manufacture. Hence we may not unreasonably suppose that either the native Britons, or possibly a wandering section of Gauls or Iberians, possessing an acquaintance with the metal, may have been the discoverers. The Phœnician traders would not be slow to recognise the existence of hitherto unknown sources of supply, and it is significant that the use of bronze in Britain is believed to date from about 1500 B.C.

In many parts of Wales and the south-western counties, descendants of the Phœnician or Iberian miners are to be recognised

in the short and dark people, easily distinguishable from the Cymry proper. These immigrants may have been miners or workmen who arrived in considerable numbers when the limited supplies in Iberia were neglected in favour of the prolific mines of Britain.

That the Britain of thirty centuries ago possessed a civilisation of no mean quality is evidenced by the monuments which, owing to their stupendous character, have survived neglect or barbarian invasion. From the intercourse which, from a very remote period, must have existed and been maintained with the mainland, we may reasonably suppose the natives to have been well acquainted with mining and the smelting and working of metals, at a period contemporary with, if not anterior to the first coming of the Phœnician traders. Certainly we may regard this especial product as the loadstone that drew the latter across a wide stretch of stormy seas, preserving the secret of its source with the greatest care, and at all risks, until it was wrested from them by the all-absorbing power of Rome.

In connection with this we may also note the frequent mention by ancient writers of Britain as a gold producing country. It is unlikely that this metal was ever procured here in sufficient quantity to export, but that it was extensively used, highly valued, and skilfully wrought, is attested by the various articles recovered in occasional finds. The extensive series of gold coins of various types and heavy fabric, also shows that there was a plentiful supply for a circulating medium. As these gold pieces are supposed to be of not earlier date than the second or third century B.C., it is probable that a large proportion of the precious metal was received from the Carthaginian traders in payment for the tin and copper exported, especially as Herodotus tells us that "they, the Carthaginians, deposit gold in exchange for the merchandise," in trading expeditions.

Much ink has been spilt in describing the coins of the ancient Britons as barbaric reproductions of degraded copies of a Greek original, the stater of Philip II., of Macedon. Apart, however, from a certain superficial resemblance, which is shared with other contemporary mintages, we may trace, with a far clearer pedigree, their descent from the coinage of Carthage Iberia and Gaul. Those of the first named

rival in quality of design and work the best mints of Greece, and without question were the production of Greek artists. The obverse generally bears a head of Persephone, whilst the reverse is charged with a running or standing horse and a palm tree. This became the usual type for both silver and bronze, just as the boar or androcephalous horse is a usual feature on the coins of Gaul; where on the coinage are also introduced circles, triangles, stars or suns and comets. Now the whole of these figures, such as the horse and palm tree, boar, androcephalous horse, *et cetera*, are the usual types of the gold, silver, tin and bronze coinage of ancient Britain, but with certain distinctive characteristics. Hence, we may infer that the variations indicate local types, and that all are akin to, and founded upon a contemporary currency common to all peoples of the west trading with the Phœnicians and Carthaginian colonies, and to whom the coinage of Philip of Macedon was comparatively unknown.

Much of the asserted degradation of type is also imaginary, being really due to extreme conventionality rather than lack of skill. Many of the earlier or uninscribed pieces exhibit excellent work and even beauty of a kind, together with an amount of technical skill that in some cases might cause us to question their parentage, were we not so well acquainted with the high quality of much of the Celtic metal-work found in this country, and which we are justified in attributing to native artists.

Conjecture is interminable as to how far the rise and fall of empire in the east may have been affected by weapons alloyed and hardened by the tin of Britain, but we find the first use that the Roman made of his metallic *spolia* of war was to convert it into the material of conquest. Rome in 508 B.C. made her first commercial alliance with Carthage; this for 250 years was followed by the aggressive measures that ultimately placed all Italy under her rule, and enabled her to compete with and finally, after three destructive wars commencing 264 B.C., to utterly destroy the power of her great maritime rival, and to absorb her African and European colonies.

Hence the interrogation by Scipio of the merchants of Massilia, Narbonne and Corbilon. Hence also the military promenade in Britain

of the great Julius, who, however, saw little or nothing of the true Britons, for his tour of observation was confined to the south-eastern districts colonised by the Belgæ.

During the ninety years that followed, the empire was established and consolidated, the Britons also contributed the payment exacted by Julius Cæsar, and we may reasonably suppose that this would be paid in such metals as copper and tin, an arrangement as convenient to the one as it was desirable to the other. It is at this period of comparative tranquillity that we find the quality of the coinage of Rome slowly but surely improving alike in artistic quality, fabric and metal.

When Claudius was declared emperor A.D. 41 he did not hesitate to put his historical and antiquarian learning to practical use, by endeavouring to obtain absolute possession of the islands where the metals so essential to them were chiefly procured, and virtually the most valuable part of Britain became a part of the empire in the course of the ensuing twenty years. To its insularity and position as well as its riches, and the character of its inhabitants, Britain, no doubt, owes something of the value placed upon it by the Roman. As an island it was comparatively safe from barbaric invasion, yet in position was readily accessible from the mainland. Its natural features, also, could not fail to attract war-worn veterans accustomed to the woods and swamps of Germany or the barren rocks of Iberia. Here the fertile and well watered plains furnished cattle and grain in abundance, navigable rivers intersected the land, whilst the hills teemed with mineral wealth. The natives, also, were an intelligent and high spirited race, unconsciously awaiting the salvation of discipline.

The Romans were quick to discern which portions were really of value to them, if indeed, which is quite possible, they had not previously become well acquainted with them in the time of Augustus, whose intended annexation of Britain was deferred and afterwards abandoned owing to the unsettled and rebellious state of the Gaulish and German tribes. The judicious administration of Agricola soon effected a complete pacification. Existing towns were extended and fortified,

new settlements created at suitable or strategic points, and the whole country opened up by new roads linking together the existing pathways.

Military rule also took the place of Druidism, and the presence of several legions divided up amongst the various towns, stations and camps, must have had an immediate and salutary effect in enforcing habits of obedience, industry and regularity in a people not always appreciative of their value as essential elements of national prosperity. Thus the Romans had placed at their disposal a vast amount of mineral wealth, ample for all purposes both military and civil, and which after serving the state for centuries, may also have been to some extent a factor in practically removing the centre of power under the Constantines from Rome to Gaul and Britain as nearer the sources of supply.

Special products, valuable of their kind, possess powers of attraction that seem to be alike tireless and irresistible, and some, such as gold, bring power or destruction according to the mental fibre of those who acquire them. With the peoples of the ancient world, empire fell to those with the most effective weapon, just as to-day Victory stands with beating wings upon the projectile of greatest power. To the ancients, and especially to the Romans, the British *ystaen*, the *kassiteros* or *stannum* from the mysterious islands invested by the Phœnician with such fabulous and dreadful environment, came as the most precious gift of Jove, for it was the essential element of bronze, which to them was the metal representing the monopoly of power, that iron and steel exercise in the modern world. In Roman hands it made absolute the power of the sword, creating a despotism, it is true, but that of a kind which, while compelling the subjection and tribute of all peoples to their rule, at the same time either restored or raised them to an ethical standard of justice, obedience and industry, so that when the parent hand grew feeble, it enabled the more virile races to consolidate their force and create the nations as they stand to-day.


Hence we may perceive that indirectly, even in the remotest times, this fatherland of ours was not without its share and part in civilisations,

vanished or absorbed "o'er which oblivion has drawn her darkening veil," and we may reflect with pardonable pride that the empire-building spirit of the Roman, in its greatest and most benignant sense, has to us more than to any other people been so largely bequeathed, and in our hands, strengthened by a Diviner wisdom, has extended and is still expanding even over "regions Cæsar never knew."

A COIN OF OFFA FOUND IN A VIKING-AGE
BURIAL AT VOSS, NORWAY.

BY HAAKON SCHETELIG, *Doct. Phil., Curator of the
Bergen Museum.*

Communicated by G. A. AUDEN, M.A., M.D., F.S.A.

URING my excavations at Voss in the summer of 1908, undertaken for the Bergen Museum, I discovered in an interment a coin struck for Offa, King of Mercia, 757-796, which is, so far as I have been able to ascertain, the earliest Anglo-Saxon coin found in Scandinavia.

The coin was found in the excavation of a tumulus, 30 m. in diameter and about 3 m. in height, situated on the sloping side of a hill. It was built of sand and gravel over a heap of stones which covered the burial itself. The grave was a rectangular depression cut down into the original surface of the soil, 2.70 m. long, 1 m. broad, and .45 m. deep. It contained considerable remains of wooden planks and some birch-bark, indicating how the depression, now open and filled with gravel, had originally been covered and protected by timber. On the bottom of the grave was noticed a layer of a kind of brown and black earth, certainly produced by the decomposition of organic substances, and in this layer were found the very scanty remains of a human skeleton placed on its side, lying east and west, but with the head towards the east end of the grave.

All the antiquities found were embedded in the same layer. One hundred and eighteen beads of glass, amber, cornelian, and rock crystal were scattered from the neck and down towards where the girdle would be; these must have formed a fine necklace. At the centre of the breast three large bronze brooches were discovered. At the position of the girdle lay a small iron knife with the wooden handle

still preserved, and a needle-case of bronze; a little further down the body were two bracelets, one of silver and the other of bronze. A sickle, a spit, and an iron ring were found close to the skeleton. The western end of the grave was occupied by the remains of a wooden box with iron mountings, containing a number of implements for woman's work, such as for spinning, weaving, etc.

From the articles found in the grave there is no doubt that the interment was that of a woman, though the scanty remains of the skeleton did not themselves admit of any conclusion on this point.

The position of the coin in the grave was somewhat puzzling. It was found beneath the skull on the same level as the middle of the face. My first thought was to explain it as a sort of ear-ring; but only the single coin was found in this position, while we should expect to find a pair if it had been an ear-ring. I therefore think that it must have been attached to the upper part of the necklace, a few beads of which were situated as high as to be level with the site of the chin, and as the body had evidently rested on its left side the necklace may have been moved out of its natural position when the body was placed in the grave, and fallen still further forward as the remains gradually became disintegrated.



SILVER PENNY OF OFFA FOUND IN NORWAY.

The coin seems to be absolutely identical with the silver penny illustrated in the *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum, Anglo-Saxon Series*, Vol. I, Plate VII, No. 13, text p. 32, namely, *obverse* + OFFA REX in two lines across the field; above, the initial *☉*, for Mercia: *reverse* OSMOD, as the moneyer's name, across the field; above and below, ornaments. It, however, appears certain that the coin was regarded merely as a curiosity or charm at the time when it was attached to the necklace. By means of a blunt punch a depression had been made in the centre of the obverse, producing a corresponding

boss on the other side; and the coin had been perforated with a hole originally just filling the interior space of the D in the moneyer's name, OSMOD; but the upper edge of the hole had been somewhat worn by use. Apparently the reverse has been regarded as the front side when the coin was converted into an ornament, and, as proved by the position of the perforation, when hung as a pendant it must have shown the inscription vertically and reading upwards; not at all a natural position if the inscription or design were meant to be intelligible.

The obverse, with Offa's name, is certainly better placed, but here the depression makes the reading very difficult. I should think that the person who made the coin into a pendant was not familiar with either the king's name or the type of money. Moreover the coin was very old at the time when it was deposited in the grave at Voss. Two of the bronze brooches found in the grave were of the well-known oval type, shaped somewhat like a tortoise-shell, and may be dated with approximate accuracy. They belong to the later Viking period, and must have been made in Norway about two hundred years later than the time when the coin was struck for King Offa in England. Nothing in the grave or suggested by the relics found in it contradicts this conclusion.

It is very unlikely that the coin could have been brought to Norway in Offa's time or even during the century following his reign, for there exists no other evidence of an importation of English coins into Scandinavia during the eighth and ninth centuries, nor is it probable that such coins were current in England as late as towards the close of the tenth century when this tumulus would be made. The Norwegian hoards of silver date from the second half of the tenth century, and do not contain a specimen of so early a date as the time of Offa. I am inclined to suggest that the most natural explanation of the appearance of Offa's coin in a Norwegian grave of the late tenth century, would be that it was found in the earth in England, perhaps at the beginning of the tenth century, and passed then as a curiosity into the hands of some Norwegian, who brought it with him on his return to his own country. This suggestion is supported by an

examination of the state of preservation of the coin. It is not much worn except on the surface of the boss, and the device is still quite distinct and clear ; which would hardly have been the case if the coin had been in constant use during some two hundred years.

A detailed description of all the antiquities discovered during the excavation will be published in *Bergens Museums Aarbog*, 1909, the catalogue-number of the find being 6228.




LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO.

THE GOLD MANCUS OF OFFA, KING OF MERCIA, FIGURE 1,
AND COINS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE SUBJECT.

THE GOLD MANCUS OF OFFA, KING OF MERCIA.

By P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., *President*.

 HIS unique and most interesting gold coin was first described by M. Adrien de Longpérier in a paper dated at Paris June 8th, 1841, read before the Numismatic Society on November 25th of the same year and printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. iv, pp. 232-234. An excellent woodcut illustration is at the head of the article. The coin is also fully described in Kenyon's *Gold Coins of England*, 1884, pp. 11 and 12, and is illustrated in the frontispiece to that work, Fig. 13.

From M. de Longpérier's account it appears that this remarkable coin was procured by the Duke de Blacas, then lately deceased, during a sojourn at Rome. It passed into the collection of the present writer in the early part of 1907, by purchase from MM. Rollin and Feuardent.

The Arabic legends on the coin transcribed into Roman characters and including the Anglo-Saxon OFFA REX, inverted, are as follows :—

<i>Obverse :—</i>	LA ILAHA ILLA AĪLAHO
<i>Field :—</i>	ALLAH WAHIDO LA SHAREEKA LAHO
<i>Margin :—</i>	MOHAMMADON RASOOLO LLAHI ARSALAHO BILHADA WADINI AL HAKKI LIOTHHIRAO ALA ADDINI COLLIHI
<i>Reverse :—</i>	MOHAMMADON
<i>Field :—</i>	REX RASOOLO OFFA LLAHI
<i>Margin :—</i>	BISMI ALLAHI DHARABA HADZA EDDEENAR SANATA SEBA'WA KHAMSEEN WA MEEYAH

The translation of these legends is as follows :—

Obverse field :—

There is no other God but the one God. He has no equal.

Margin :—

Mahommad is the Apostle of God, who sent him with the doctrine and true faith to prevail over every religion.

Reverse field :—

Mahommad is the Apostle of God.

Margin :—

In the name of God was coined this dinar in the year one hundred and fifty-seven.

Between the three lines forming the inscription of the field of the reverse are the words OFFA REX. It is the addition of these two words which gives to the coin its importance. They are in the form of the Roman character usually appearing on the silver coins of Offa, but, in relation to the Arabic inscription, are inverted. See Plate I, Fig. 1.

The Mahommadan date 157 inscribed on the coin, corresponds with the year of our Lord 774, to be more exact the last day of Hejira 157 = November 11th, A.D. 774.

The weight of the piece under consideration is 66 grains, being the equivalent in value to a gold mancus, which was worth one-eighth of a pound, or thirty silver pence.

It is a copy of a Mussulman dinar by a workman unacquainted with the Arabic language and writing, but it may be justly said that it is a remarkably good copy.

One of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, Lord Grantley, F.S.A., to whom the coin was submitted for examination, has kindly made a careful comparison of the legends with those appearing on a specimen of the ordinary dinar of the year 157 issued by El-Mansoor. This dinar from Lord Grantley's collection forms Fig. 2 of the Plate. It is somewhat worn and weighs 62 grains, and is, therefore, 4 grains short of the full weight. We cannot do better than quote the following extract from our learned Vice-President's report :—

In reference to your query as to whether I think the dinar of Offa Rex was the work of an Anglo-Saxon craftsman or a Moor, I send you a drawing of the legends on the coins (the mancus and the dinar), which I have copied as faithfully as I can. As far as concerns

Dinar "Offa Rex" Obverse margin

محمد	ابن	الاسلم	والله	دانا	الاسلم	سنة	الاسلم	له
Dinar of year. 157. Obverse margin.								
محمد	سنة	الله	ادسنة	تاليد	و	لله	لله	الله

Dinar "Offa Rex"

Dinar of year 157

Obverse Field

الله	الله
الله	الله
الله	الله
الله	الله

Dinar of Offa Rex "Reverse margin.

الله	الله	الله	الله	الله	الله
Dinar of year 157 Reverse margin					
الله	الله	الله	الله	الله	الله

Dinar "Offa Rex".

Dinar of year 157

Reverse Field.

الله	الله
الله	الله
الله	الله
الله	الله

the Kalima, or legends, on the fields of *obverse* and *reverse* there is nothing that denotes an unorthodox worker, except a slight slovenliness, which is more general at a later age than at this period. On the *obverse* margin, however, there are one or two words which one can hardly believe the die cutter could have understood, e.g., *Mohammadon*; *rasoolo* (one tooth of *Sin* wanting); *liothhiraho*, quite incorrect. Also on the *reverse* margin the word *Sanata* is a mere blur.

On the whole, I believe that the cutter of the die did not understand the Arabic meaning of the Koofee legend, and simply copied it; though how he did it so well I am at a loss to account for. It is a significant fact that the Roman letters "OFFA REX" are upside down in relation to the Koofee words: I congratulate you on the acquisition of so interesting a coin.

The drawings of the legends referred to above are reproduced on the accompanying Plate.

In the catalogue of coins of the Eastern Khalifees in the British Museum, vol. i, p. 39, No. 24, a dinar of El-Mansoor of the year 157 A. H., and of the weight of 66·5 grains is recorded. See Plate, Fig. 3. To the description is appended the following note:—

This last coin is remarkable for many inaccuracies in its inscriptions (pointed out by Marsden, *Num. Orient.*, i, pp. 20, 21) which lead to the belief that it was the work of an artist ignorant of the Arabic character. There seems to be no reason for believing the coin to be a modern forgery.

We may add that the likelihood of the coin being either a contemporary or ancient forgery is also precluded by the fact that it is of full weight, and of gold of the proper standard. May not this be of the same origin as the coin we are discussing, and prepared for the same purpose?

Having recounted the history and provenance of the "Offa Rex" gold coin and described its legends, type, and workmanship, we will proceed to a consideration of the term "mancus" and its application to coins or values of both gold and silver in Anglo-Saxon muniments.

The value which was expressed by the gold mancus is recorded by Archbishop Ælfric, who wrote about the end of the tenth century.¹ It was then equal to thirty pennies, or six shillings, at which rate it

Sax. Grammar, by Ælfric. He was Archbishop of Canterbury from A.D. 995 to 1005.

continued to be estimated in the laws of Henry I. (Liebermann's *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, Leges Henrici*, 34, 3, and 69, 2).

Ruding, writing in the year 1819, says :—

The term Mancus, or, as it was written by the Saxons, Mancoꝝ Mancꝝ, Mancuꝝ, and Mancure, is supposed to have been derived from Italy, and to be formed from the Latin¹ *manu cusum*, by which it was intended to express coined money, as the word *cusus* could have no reference to simple weight. If this supposition be correct (and the connection which existed between that country and England, after the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity, is sufficient to warrant it), it can scarcely be supposed that the coins themselves were not imported as well as the name, and became current among the Saxons, in the same manner as they appear to have circulated through most of the other nations of Europe. This is much more probable than the opinion that such coins were struck in the Anglo-Saxon mints, of which no evidence has yet been discovered. It should seem, however, that this species of money soon fell into disuse, whilst the name only was retained, and applied to a certain weight. That this was the case may be concluded from the occurrence at an early period of mancuses of silver as well as of gold; for it never was pretended that a silver coin existed under that denomination, even by those who have been the most strenuous advocates for the golden mancus of the Saxons. When, therefore, we find in the ninth century mancuses of silver described precisely in the same manner as those of gold we must either consider the silver mancus as a coin, which it is allowed on all hands that it never was, or we must admit that by the mancus of gold a certain weight only was intended at that time.

This passage is repeated verbatim in the third edition of Ruding's work, published in 1840, vol. i, p. 111, a date prior to the writing of M. de Longpérier's paper above referred to.

Mr. J. Y. Akerman in a paper entitled "The Gold Mancus," read before the Numismatic Society, March 24th, 1842, and printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. v, pp. 122–124, quotes the following remarks from a letter addressed to him by M. de Longpérier :—

I have hazarded the supposition that this coin of Offa represents the long sought for *mancus*, but I neglected to set forth my principal

¹ As *nūmus* is masculine, the words should be *manū cusus*. Moreover *manū* has long ū, and Ruding ought to have known better than to suggest that *mancusa* could come from *manūcūsus*.

argument in support of the opinion. It appears to me that the name as well as the coin itself is derived from the Arabic, since the word *Mancush* signifies generally a coin, whether of gold, silver, or copper.

The verb *nakasha* (*sic*) is rendered in Freytag's Dictionary *cudit nummos*, and the passive participle is *mankoush*.

Mr. Akerman, after quoting in part the words of Ruding above set out, continues :—"It is singular that he goes on to remark on the probability of the coin as well as the name being imported, without suspecting their Arabic origin."

He then mentions that the weight of the gold penny of Henry III. was a little over 45 grains, that it was current for twenty pence, its value being subsequently raised to twenty-four pence, and concludes that as the weight of the gold Arabic dinar is about 66 grains, or one-third more than that of the gold penny, all doubt is set at rest as to the correctness of M. de Longpérier's conjecture that the Arabic coin with the name of Offa is really a specimen of the long sought for *mancus*.

It is to be noted that Mr. Kenyon in his *Gold Coins of England* agrees with the main conclusions of M. de Longpérier and Mr. Akerman in regard to this piece.

As regards the silver *mancus*, bearing in mind the fact that the Arabic word *mancush* signifies *a coin*, it may very reasonably be supposed that by a silver *mancus* the Anglo-Saxons referred to the Arabic silver coin known to us as a *dirhem*, but, unfortunately, the Anglo-Saxon equivalent to a silver *mancus* is not recorded. It may, however, be argued with reasonable certainty that "a *mancus* of silver" would imply silver to the value or weight of thirty silver pennies, whereas "a silver *mancus*" might equally be held to imply the actual coin known to us as a *dirhem*, as the weight of this coin is about 45 grains, and 15 *dirhems* would, in weight of silver, be equal to thirty pennies, the ascertained value of the gold *mancus*. So that although each separate *dirhem* might with propriety have been termed "a silver *mancus*," a "mancus of silver" would be the term properly applied to the aggregate value of fifteen of such pieces.

In reference to Ruding's point that a *mancus* of gold, or a gold *mancus*, must necessarily imply a term of account for reckoning

purposes, while conceding that the term was frequently so employed, it is evident that it had reference to an actual coin known to, and circulated freely amongst the Anglo-Saxons, namely, the Arabic dinar, or gold mancus. If we speak to-day of "a sovereign" or of "half-a-crown" we do not necessarily mean the well-known pieces of money of those precise values; we may equally intend coins which, taken together, are of those values, yet the application of the terms "sovereign" and "half-a-crown" to ascertained values does not prove, as Ruding would have us believe in similar circumstances, the non-existence of such pieces of actual money.

A distinction should be drawn between "a gold mancus" and "a mancus of gold." The former expression was used, no doubt, to denote the actual coin, the latter the value in account. A "golden guinea" can only refer to the now disused coin of that metal and denomination. A "guinea" means to-day twenty-one shillings in account.

Mr. Hawkins in his "Account of Coins and Treasure found in Cuerdale," near Preston, in Lancashire, in May, 1840, read before the Numismatic Society, November 25th and December 23rd, 1841, and printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. v, records at p. 94 that amongst this treasure of ornaments and coins were some silver pieces of Cufic money of the Khalifeehs of the Abbasside Dynasty. They were chiefly fragments, very few entire, and only one or two in such condition as to allow of the date or mint being ascertained. One only, the least imperfect of the number, is engraved, Plate X, No. 140. Our author continues :—

This is a dirhem of Motamed Ala'llah. The inscription on one side contains the name of this Khalif and that of "Muhammad, the Apostle of God." The legend is partially obliterated and indistinct. On the other side is the inscription "There is no God but God, there is no associate to him"; below is the name of the Khalif's brother, Muwakkef Billah. The legend announces that this coin was struck in Arminiyah, A.H. 267, that is 880 of our era. Other coins, upon which dates can be ascertained, were struck much about the same time, as might be expected from the date of the European coins with which they were mingled. This discovery of Arabic money in the midst of European treasure belonging to the *ninth*¹ century is not unusual, and

¹ This should be *tenth*.

it is not difficult to account for. Such have been found in France and the north of Europe, but not before, it is thought, in England (*Revue Numismatique*, 373, from the *Blätter für Münzkunde*); Charlemagne and his successors are known to have entertained friendly relations with Haroun Alraschid and his successors (Reinaud, *Invas. des Sarras.*, 116, 136); monasteries or hospitals were maintained at Jerusalem for the reception of devotees and entertainment of pilgrims; commercial intercourse existed between Alexandria and various parts of France for the introduction of spices and perfumes (de Guignes, "Mémoire de Commerce des François dans le Levant avant les Croisades," *Acad. des Inscript.*, xxxvii, 481); the Saracens had actually a settlement in Provence (Reinaud, *ibid.*, 158, 210, 257); intercourse between Europe and the East was also carried on through Russia (Lindberg, "Sur quelques médailles Cufiques trouvées dans l'île de Falster," *Dédication*, pp. 3-6); and a naval predatory warfare was frequently practised by the northern tribes of Europe against the Moors (Depping, *Histoire des Expéditions maritimes des Normands*, i, 164-5).

From these facts Mr. Hawkins draws the conclusion that the Cufic pieces found at Cuerdale may have found their way into the hoard either through France, or by means of the Northern warriors, whose custom it was to fight against the Moors.

Other finds of Cufic coins in Great Britain and Ireland have since been recorded. At Eastbourne, Sussex, a dinar of Hesham ben abd-el Malek, the eleventh Omiya Khalifeeh of the house of Omar, who reigned A.D. 724-743, and another Cufic coin, not described, see *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. ix, p. 85. At Arundel, Sussex, in Sweden, and on the shores of the Baltic; *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xiii, p. 14. At Goldborough, Yorkshire, thirty-five Oriental and two Saxon; *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. i, N.S., pp. 65-71. At Lugga, County Meath, Ireland; *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. iii, N.S., p. 256.

There have been other finds of the same character, but reference to those mentioned is sufficient to illustrate the fact that both gold and silver Arabic and Moorish pieces were freely circulated in this country in Anglo-Saxon times. Mr. Joseph Anderson in his edition of *The Orkneyinga Saga*, 1873, p. 127, appends the following note:—

Hoards of Eastern coins and ornaments are almost annually discovered in Norway and Sweden, and occasionally in Orkney and the

North of Scotland. The museum of Stockholm possesses more than 20,000 Cufic coins found in Sweden, dating from the close of the eighth to the end of the tenth century, and vast quantities of those silver ornaments of peculiar forms and style of workmanship, which are also believed to have been brought from the East, partly by trade and partly by the returning Værings (of the Varangian guard at Constantinople).

The find at Goldborough is rendered very interesting and instructive by the circumstance that it comprised a cut half of what is described in the *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. ii, p. 55, as an "offering penny" of Ælfred the Great. The illustration, Plate V, 15, makes it clear that it is an intentionally cut half of a coin and not a "fragment," as it is described in the catalogue. The probability of the so-called "offering pennies" being in fact shillings of Wessex, equal to fivepence, was shown by the present writer in the Introduction to vol. i of *The British Numismatic Journal*, p. 4. In Mercia, however, the shilling equalled fourpence, and sixty silver shillings were equivalent to one libra, or pound.

The presence of this dimidiated specimen, which is here illustrated as Fig. 7 in the Plate, in a hoard, comprising also a penny of Eadweard the Elder, and thirty-five dirhems of the Abbasside and Samanian Dynasties, A.H. 276 to A.H. 320, or A.D. 889 to A.D. 932, suggests the likelihood of the idea which originated Ælfred's shillings having been derived from the Arabic dirhem, which, after allowing for the difference between Arabic and Roman inscriptions, they much resemble in size and general appearance.

The only other specimen of Ælfred's large silver coinage, also in the national collection, is illustrated in the Plate, Fig. 6.

Its weight is 162·4 grains and, although similar in type, is struck from different dies on both obverse and reverse from those employed in the production of the dimidiated example.

It has been conjectured that the heavier piece may have been a pattern only, as the metal extends considerably beyond the outer circle of the design, whereas the cut piece has no metal beyond the outer circle. If a current coin its weight approximates to seven and a half pence, or one and a half shillings of Wessex.

Two specimens from the writer's collection of dirhems of El-Mansoor, struck in A.H. 157, the same year as that upon the gold mancus of OFFA REX are illustrated in the Plate, Figs. 4, 5. They weigh 45 and 43 grains respectively, whereas the cut half of Ælfred's large silver coin found at Goldborough weighs 53 grains. It would seem, therefore, that one Wessex shilling was approximately equal to two dirhems and a half.

We will now pass on to the consideration of the circumstances in which Offa would have been likely to issue a gold mancus bearing his own name and title.

Offa's reign over Mercia began in A.D. 757 and continued until 796.

The date inscribed upon the gold coin bearing his name is A.H. 157=A.D. 774, but as this piece is a copy of an Arabic dinar of the year A.H. 157, that date is also copied, and all that it proves is that Offa's piece was issued in, or more probably, subsequently to the year A.D. 774.

It is known that Offa associated his son Ecgrith with him as joint king of the Mercians, and that this was effected at the Synod held at Cealchyth in A.D. 786. Ecgrith reigned for 141 days after the death of his father.

There is a charter of A.D. 788 signed by Offa and Ecgrith, each of whom writes *rex Merciorum* after his signature, Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, No. 253; whereas in a charter, No. 251, assigned to the year A.D. 787, Offa signs as *rex* and Ecgrith merely as *filius regis*.

It is clear that the arrangement was arrived at when the Legates George and Theophylact visited Offa. Their report to Pope Adrian I., attributed to A.D. 787, is printed in Birch's *Cart. Sax.*, No. 250. Certain it is that in a letter, *Cart. Sax.*, No. 288, of Pope Leo III., attributed to the year A.D. 798, to Coenwulf, King of the Mercians, reference is made to Ecgrith in the passage, *Signiferum, et comitem in ipso regno . . . amplexens coram synodo*.

In the same document there is direct reference to the vow made by Offa to Pope Adrian I., through the Legates George and Theophylact, to send yearly 365 mancuses to the Pope, or Church of St. Peter,

as alms for the poor, a promise which Pope Leo desired to have renewed by Offa's successor. The following extract gives the text of the letter on this subject :—

“Nam pro hujusmodi regi[mine] valde nimisque beatificavimus et laudavimus fratrem nostrum præfatum archiepiscopum (¹Aedelheardum): quia pro fide orthodoxa animam suam posuit. Vestram autem scientes fructificatam in omnibus bonis precelsa scientia ad memoriam deducimus, qualiter sanctae recordationis quod Offa rex pro ²victoria regni, quam tenuit, beato Petro auctori suo signiferum et comitem in ipso regno utens atque amplectens, coram synodo tam omnibus episcopis seu principibus atque optimatibus cunctoque populo insulæ Bryttanniæ morantibus quamque et nostri fidelissimi missi³ Georgii et Theophylacti [*sic*], sanctissimis episcopis, votum vovit eidem Dei apostolo beato Petro clavigero regni cœlorum ut per unumquemque annum scilicet quantos dies annus habuerit, tantos mancuses eidem Dei apostolo aecclesiæ nimirum trecentos sexaginta quinque pro alimoniis pauperum et luminarium concinnatione emittere, quod et fecit: ut tam ipse quamque posterius ejus qui (in) ipso regno, tenere videntur usque in perpetuo propter ejusdem regni victorias beato Petro suis almis suffragiis concedente. Et si vestra excellentia ampliores victorias et honores in ipso habere regno cupit, instar persolvens, per eam amplius quam amplius in perpetuum permaneat confirmatum ut ipse Dei apostolus semper per vos in ipso victoriam concedat regno, et in vita æterna cum sanctis omnibus sine fine vos regnare faciat.”

Some important corrections of the text, as printed by Birch, have been suggested by Mr. Alfred Anscombe, to whom we are also indebted for the following translation :—

“For we have much and greatly praised our before mentioned brother, the Archbishop (Aethelheard), on account of statesmanship (regi[mine]) of this sort, and we have declared him blessed because he expended his life for the orthodox faith. On the other hand, to your mind, which has been rendered fruitful in all good things by the highest wisdom, we recall known facts, namely, how King Offa of venerable memory, employing the blessed Peter for his counsellor, and on account of the conquest of the kingdom that he made, embraced his standard-

¹ Archbishop of Canterbury from A.D. 793 to 805.

² This probably has reference to Offa's victory over the Kentish men at Otford, see *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, An. 773 (or 774).

³ Their names should be in the nominative. There is reason for thinking that Gregorius should be substituted for Georgius.

bearer, and his companion in the self-same government, before the synod, and before all the bishops, princes and thanes, and the whole people of the Island of Britain, as well as the right reverend bishops sojourning therein (such as our very trusty messengers George and Theophylact), and made a vow unto the same Apostle of God, the blessed Peter, the keeper of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, to send forth, year by year, without fail, unto the same Apostle of the Church of God, as many mancuses as there are days in the year, to wit, 365, as alms for the poor, and for the manufacture of lights for the Church. So that he, as well as his posterity, appear to rule without intermission on account of the victories of the same government which have been accorded by the kind and favourable recommendation of the blessed Peter. And if your Highness, paying the like amount, desires to have more success and honour in the self-same kingdom, through that payment it may remain secure perpetually in the highest degree, so that the same Apostle of God may ever grant the victory, through you, to the self-same kingdom, and may bring you to reign with all the saints, without end, in life everlasting."

M. de Longpérier was of opinion that Offa's gold coin was copied from some coin brought into Europe by trade, or by the Arabs, who, in A.D. 785, fled from the religious persecutions of the Khalif Hadi; and as to the singular fact of an Arabic legend being selected for a coin to be sent to a Pope, he remarks:—

"We are authorised by the ignorance of the times to suppose that King Offa mistook for mere ornaments, characters which the Pope, on the other hand, would consider Saxon letters."

It seems to us to be unlikely that either the Pope, or so powerful and enlightened a king as Offa of Mercia was, would be ignorant of the circumstance that the characters on a gold mancus, or dinar, were Arabic.

What appears to us to be more likely is, that the class of coin in question was well-known to the Pope and his Legates, as well as to Offa; and that when Offa vowed to send a contribution of 365 mancuses each year to the Roman Church, both he and the Legates, George and Theophylact, had the Arabic dinar actually in view. Assuming that this was so, Offa, according to the superstition of his times, would naturally desire to perform his vow literally, and to accomplish this object he would have the agreed coins produced at his own mint, and

stamped with his own name and title "OFFA REX," so that no question would arise either as to the exact fulfilment of his vow in regard to the species of coin promised, or as to the identity of the sender of the contribution. That Offa did keep his promise we have ample proof in the phrase *quod et fecit* in the papal letter.

It may, indeed, be reasonably surmised that the dinar which was copied was brought to Mercia by one or other of the Legates, and that the coin, the subject of our paper, was struck in the year of the synod, *i.e.*, A.D. 786, or the following year.

Dr. Liebermann accepts the origin of Peter's pence in this grant of Offa, and also describes Malmesbury's reference to Æthelwulf as a confirmation of the grant by the latter king, *Ueber die Leges Edwardi Confessoris*, Halle, 1896, p. 55.

Asser in his *Life of King Alfred* refers to the visit of King Æthelwulf to Rome and to the gifts he made. His words are :—

Romae quoque omni anno magnam pro anima sua pecuniam, id est trecentas mancussas, portari præcepit, quae taliter ibi dividerentur : etc., Ed. W. H. Stevenson, Oxford, 1904, p. 15.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *annal* 883, records that Sighelm and Æthelstan conveyed to Rome the alms which King Ælfred had vowed to send thither, and also to India to St. Thomas and to St. Bartholomew. Other references to the same subject occur under *annales* 887, 888, 889, 890.

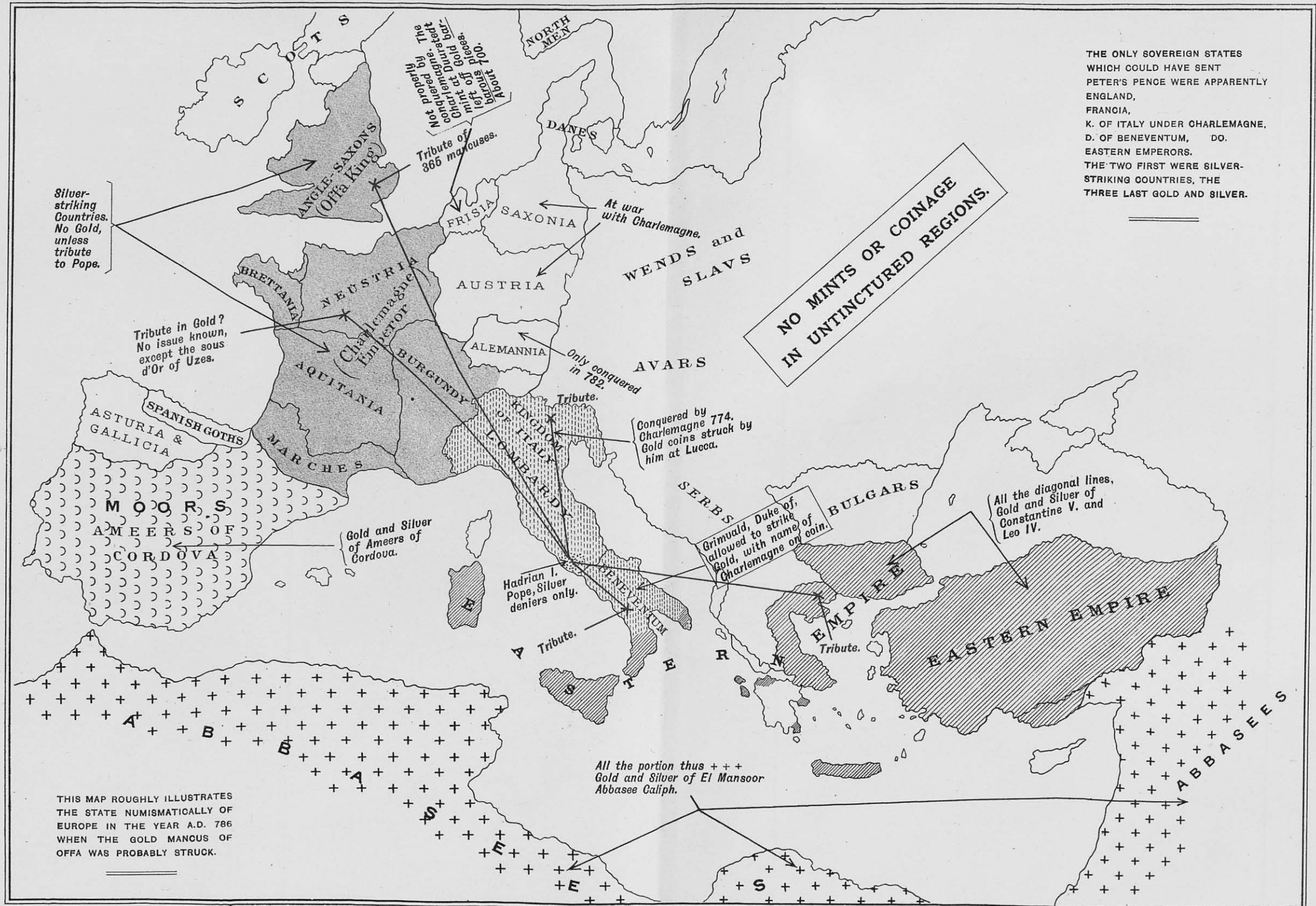
The same authority tells us that in the reign of William Rufus, A.D. 1095, "the Rome-scot" was sent to the Pope by Walter, Bishop of Albano, the Pope's legate, and it is added "which had not been done for many years before."

Pope Alexander II., A.D. 1066–1073, had written to William I. that the English used to send a yearly pension to Rome, part of which went to the Pope and part to the Schola Anglorum.¹

Frequent references to this tribute under the names of Romfeoh, Romescot, Rompening, etc., occur in the laws of the Anglo-Saxons. For particulars, our readers are referred to Dr. Liebermann's learned

¹ Jaffé-Wattenbach, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, No. 4757.

NUMISMATIC MAP OF EUROPE IN THE TIME OF OFFA.



THIS MAP ROUGHLY ILLUSTRATES THE STATE NUMISMATICALLY OF EUROPE IN THE YEAR A.D. 786 WHEN THE GOLD MANCUS OF OFFA WAS PROBABLY STRUCK.

work already cited. The references in the index thereto are as follows :—*Eadweard-Guthrum*, 6, 1. I. Eadmund, 2 ; II. Eadgar, 40 ; V. Æthelræd II., 11, 1 ; VI. Æthelræd II., 18 ; VIII. Æthelræd II., 10 ; I. Cnut, 9 ; Eadward the Confessor, *f retr* 10 ; Henry I., 11, 3. In the above quoted laws of Eadgar "hearth-penny" is identified with "Rome-penny."

Mr. Kenyon's conclusion is that both M. de Longpérier and Mr. Akerman were probably right in considering the coin to be a specimen of those sent by Offa to the Pope, in fulfilment of his vow to send him 365 gold mancuses every year, and in support he refers to its having been procured in Rome. He remarks that when the tribute was paid at all, it was probably paid in foreign gold, and that a few pieces of this sort may have been struck to make up a deficiency in such gold payable in some one year.

Lord Grantley favours the view that Offa's gold coin was expressly struck for the payment of tribute to the Pope, and he thinks it to be likely that the gold pieces of the Emperor Charlemagne, sous d'or, struck at Uzes, may have served the same purpose. Also that the gold pieces struck by Grimvald, Duke of Beneventum, under Charlemagne, and those struck by Charlemagne himself at Lucca after its conquest in A.D. 774, are of the same order.

Engel and Serrure in *Num. Moyen Âge*, 1891, p. 221, quote a petition of the Council of Rheims asking the Emperor to revert to Pepin's ways, and to forbid the currency of the gold sous, worth forty deniers.

But Louis le Débonnaire had no scruples about striking sous and half-sous of gold of the *MVNVS DIVINVM* type, more particularly referred to hereafter. These, Lord Grantley believes, were for papal tribute, and, it may be added, that the legend is in itself significant. There were no further gold coins struck in France until the middle of the thirteenth century.

At this period the only sovereign states which could have sent Peter's pence were apparently England, Francia, the Kingdom of Italy under Charlemagne, the Duchy of Beneventum, also under Charlemagne, and the Eastern Empire. The two first were normally only silver striking countries, the three last issuers of both gold and silver.

The map¹ inserted between pages 66 and 67 discloses at a glance the circumstance that Offa, in regard to coined gold money, had practically only the Arabic dinars and the solidi of the Eastern Empire to make choice from, and he appears to have preferred the former.

Another view as to the cause of origin and the intended use of the coin is put forward by Mr. D. H. Haigh in "Notes on the Old English Coinage," *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S., vol. ix, p. 180. We quote his remarks in full :—

I cannot think that the gold dinar with the name of Offa was ever meant for circulation in England ; nor that a coinage such as this could have been devised for the purpose of payment of the tribute promised to Rome. It could only have been intended for the purposes of commerce with Spain, Africa, or the East ; or for the use of pilgrims to the Holy Land. The latter I think more probable ; and Rome, where it was found, was in the route of all pilgrims.

Mr. Haigh appends the following note :—

It appears, incidentally, from the life of St. Willibald, that pilgrimages to the Holy Land were frequent in the eighth century. He and his companions were arrested at Emesa, and carried before a magistrate, who enquired the object of their journey, and when they explained it to him, said : " I have often seen men of the parts of the earth whence these come, travelling hither they seek no harm, but desire to fulfil their law." This was about A.D. 722. The many years of war which ensued between the Arabs and the Greeks did not put a stop altogether to these pilgrimages, and when peace was restored under Harûn el Rashid, A.D. 786, they became more frequent than ever ; but Offa had been dead seven years before the Keys of the Holy Sepulchre and of the City of Jerusalem were sent to Charlemagne, who founded a hospital there for the reception of pilgrims.

We, on our part, must leave our readers to decide which view should be adopted, giving, however, our own support to that originally expressed by M. de Longpérier.

The stamping of the coin with the name and title of Offa seems to suggest that the issue had a specific object to fulfil, and we feel that the historically recorded vow of the King—to send a specific number of mancuses to Rome—affords the more probable explanation of the matter.

¹ We are indebted to Lord Grantley for the original drawing of this map.—EDS.

Another gold piece, which is in the British Museum, is of the size and weight, 68 grains, of a mancus. This is of Wigmund, Archbishop of York from A.D. 837 to 854, and has on the obverse a full-faced tonsured bust of the Archbishop with legend VIGMVND AREP; reverse a small cross pattée within a wreath, and the legend .MVNVS DIVINVM. It has a hole drilled on each side of the neck, as if for suspension. Plate I, Fig. 8.

There are coins of Louis le Débonnaire, A.D. 814–840, of the same denomination and weight, and with the same type and inscription on the reverse. A specimen from the writer's collection, weighing 67 grains, is illustrated in the Plate, Fig. 9.

We have followed Mr. Kenyon in his reference to these pieces as being of the weight of a mancus. They are also of the weight of the Byzantine solidus, from which they are apparently derived in some degree, both as regards type and weight.

We may, however, with some confidence, conjecture that not only Offa's gold mancus, but also the gold coin of Wigmund and the MVNVS DIVINVM pieces of Louis le Débonnaire were struck for the purpose of paying the Rom-feoh or Peter's Pence. Nay, we may go one step further and conclude that the gold coin of Æthelræd II., struck at Lewes, weight $51\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and the gold piece of Edward the Confessor, struck at Warwick, weight $54\frac{1}{4}$ grains, were intended for the like purpose.¹ We have already seen that the tribute was continued during the reigns of those kings and is referred to in their laws.

Mr. Kenyon's conclusion is:—

"The Arabic dinar, however, was clearly not a current coin, and tends strongly to disprove the existence of any native gold currency in Offa's time. Wigmund's piece is probably a medal; and those of Æthelræd and Edward the Confessor appear to have been struck from dies intended for silver pennies, either as pattern pieces or by a mere freak of the moneyer.

"We do not believe that there was any regular Saxon gold coinage later than the trientes."

We confess to a preference for the consistent explanation of the

¹ For descriptions of these two pieces, see Mr. Kenyon's *Gold Coins of England*, pp. 12 and 13, and his Plate, Figs. 15 and 16.

existence of these pieces now given for the first time, namely, that all were made for the purpose of payment of the tribute to Rome, the Romfeoh or Peter's Pence.

In later times there were issued by Christian princes coins having inscriptions partly in Roman and partly in Arabic characters, and some were issued by Crusaders with entirely Arabic inscriptions, but the reasons for the issue of these were foreign to those originating the tribute coins above discussed.

The following five specimens from Lord Grantley's cabinet have been kindly lent by him for illustration.

1. Gold coin of Alfonzo VIII., of Castile, A.D. 1158-1214—

Obverse—

Centre.—

EL IMAM EL BAY'ATA
EL MESIAHYATA EL BABA
ALF

Margin.—

BISM EL AB WALIBN WA ERROOH
ELKADDOOS ALLAHOO WAHIDO MAN
AMAN WĀ'TAMADA YEKOON
SĀLMINAN

Reverse—

Centre.—

AMIR
EL KATOLIKIN
ALFONS BIN SANGO
AYADO ALLAH
WA NASRUHO

Margin.—

DHARAB HADA EL DINAR
BI MEDINA TOLETO KHAMIS
THLATEEN WA MAYATEEN WA
ALF ASSAFAR

Translation of No. 1.

Obverse—

*Centre.—*The pontiff of the church of the Messiah, the Pope.

ALF

*Margin.—*In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one God, he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.

Reverse—

Centre.—Prince of the Catholics Alfonzo son of Sancho. May God help him and protect him.

Margin.—This dinar was struck in the city of Toledo, twelve hundred and thirty-five of (the era of) Assafar.¹ = A.D. 1197.

Weight 60 grains. Plate, Fig. 10.

2. Silver "staurat" drachma struck at St. Jean d'Acre, about A.D. 1251 under Louis IX., A.D. 1251-1259.

Obverse—

ALLAH WAHID HOO
EL YAMAN WAHID
WALMA'MOODIYEH

} round a cross pattée.

The cross pattée is enclosed within an inner circle, and the whole of the above is within a square.

Reverse—

EL AB WALIBN
WA ERROOH EL KADOOS
ALLAHO WAHID

} in a square.

The margins, obverse and reverse, are obliterated in this coin, but, according to Schlumberger, *Num. de l'Orient Latin*, p. 140 *et seq.*, the obverse margin should be "Struck at Acre the year 1251 of the incarnation of the Messiah," and the reverse, "We are glorified by the cross of our Saviour Jesus the Messiah, from whom we get our grace our life and our resurrection, and by whom we have been saved and pardoned."

These coins (*vide* Schlumberger, *loc. cit.*) were called "staurats," and he says they were struck to calm the anger of Pope Innocent IV (1243-1254), who had objected to Christians using Mahomedan legends on their coins, as except for the meaning, they appeared like the well-known Arab coins of the day. They are much rarer than the gold besants, and were struck between 1251 and 1259.

Translation of No. 2.

Obverse.—One God, one faith and baptism.

Reverse.—The Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, one divinity.

The translations of the margins are given above.

Weight, 40 grains. Plate, Fig. 11.

¹ This era is from 38 B.C., the date of the submission of Spain to the Romans.

3. Gold besant struck by Crusaders at St. Jean d'Acre in A.D. 1251.

Obverse—

Centre.— ALLAH WAHIDO
Inner margin.— EL AB WAL IBN WA
 ERROOH EL KADOOS
Outer margin.— DHARAB [BI AKĒR SANATA]
 ALF WA MĒYATEEN AHAD WA
 KHAMSEEN LITAGASSAD EL MESSIAH

Reverse—

Inner margin.— + : WA HĀYINĀ WA KIĀMTANĀ
 WA BIHO TAGALLASNA WA'AFINA
Outer margin.— [TEFTIKIR BISALIB] RABNA
 IESSU' EL MESSIAH EZZAY [BIHO SALMETNA]

Translation of No. 3.

Obverse—

Centre.—*There is only one God.*
Inner margin.—*The Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost.*
Outer margin.—*Struck [at Aker in the year] twelve hundred and fifty-*
one of the Incarnation of the Messiah.

Reverse—

Inner margin.—*And our life and our resurrection and by whom we have*
been delivered and pardoned.
Outer margin.—*[We are made great by the cross] of our Saviour Jesus*
the Messiah [by whom we hold our Salvation].
 Weight, 48 grains (clipped and pierced). Plate, Fig. 12.

4. *Gold.*—Early imitation by Crusaders of dinars of El Amir (Fatimee Khalif from A.D. 1101 to 1130) and attributed by Mr. Schlumberger to the regency of Bohemund I. of Antioch under Tancred.

Obverse.—Corrupt Arabic legends, B.

Reverse.— " " " , T and cross.

Weight, 53 grains. Plate, Fig. 13.

5. *Gold.*—Imitation of a dinar of about the time of Hisham II., A.H. 400–403, independent Amawee Caliph in Spain. Found in Spain.

Corrupt legends on both sides.

Weight, 58 grains (pierced). Plate, Fig. 14.




LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO.

A PENNY OF ST. ÆTHELBERHT, KING OF EAST ANGLIA,
—SEE FIGURES 1 AND 3—AND COINS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE SUBJECT.

A PENNY OF ST. ÆTHELBERHT, KING OF
EAST ANGLIA.

BY P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., *President*.

N the month of February, 1909, it was my good fortune to obtain, through the kind offices of Messrs. Spink and Son, the remarkably fine and exceedingly rare Anglo-Saxon silver coin, which I have the pleasure of bringing to the notice of the Society.

The following is a description of the readings and types of the obverse and reverse of the piece :—

Obverse : † EÐINBERHT •• NN = † ETHILBERHT •• LUL. Draped bust to right, head diademed ; all within an outer beaded circle.

Reverse : REX. Beaded compartment, within which are the figures of the wolf, to left, and twins ; beneath, dots grouped thus •• : ••, all within an outer beaded circle. Weight, 18·8 grains, Plate, Fig. 1.

It was found in the summer of the year 1908, at the foot of the walls of the city of Tivoli, the ancient Tibur, where are the substructures of the Villa d'Este, in the locality of Colle. A gentleman of Tivoli bought the coin from the peasant who found it, and at the same time acquired from him some other coins, which were said to be of no value.

With reference to the provenance of this piece, it has been remarked that rare coins coming from Rome must be viewed with suspicion ; apparently, because certain clever forgeries of Greek and Roman coins have emanated thence. The suspicion must not, however, assume an unreasonable character, for many hundreds of undoubtedly genuine Saxon coins have been found in that ancient city.

Signor de Rossi in 1884 described a hoard comprising eight

hundred and thirty Anglo-Saxon pennies, found in the house of the Vestals, and they are now in the National Museum at Rome. These coins date from late in the ninth to the middle of the tenth century.

It will be apparent to those who are acquainted with the style of workmanship and lettering appearing on the coinage of Offa, King of Mercia, and on that of his Queen, Cynethryth, that the piece under notice is of the same technique, fabric and general character. The initial cross Calvary, instead of the more usual even-limbed cross, is not infrequently found on the pennies of Offa, but the Runic \mathfrak{f} in the name of the King, Ethilberht, and the name of the moneyer $\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{n}$, composed entirely of Runic characters, are features which are not disclosed upon the coinage of Offa.

The placing of the name of the moneyer on the obverse of the coinage of Æthelberht, is exactly paralleled in the case of certain coins of Offa, and is in evidence upon all the known specimens bearing the name of his Queen, Cynethryth; but no instance is known to me, other than that of the coins of Æthelberht, wherein the names of both the sovereign and of the moneyer appear together on the obverse of the coin. For an illustration of a penny of Cynethryth, see Plate, Fig. 9.

It is, therefore, possible that an entirely Runic inscription was adopted by LUL to meet the particular circumstances of the case now under consideration, and to thereby establish a marked distinction between the name of the sovereign issuing the coin and that of the moneyer.

It is not unlikely that, at this early date, the moneyer was both the designer and preparer of the dies, as well as the person who was responsible for the proper weight and fineness of the coins struck from them.

In our National Collection there are three pennies of Offa of the class bearing his bust, which disclose the name LULLA as that of the moneyer, and a fourth example, of the class without either head or bust, which bears the name in its shorter form LUL. The first three are illustrated in the *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum*, vol. i, Plate VI, Figs. 1, 2 and 3, and the remaining example in Plate VII, Fig. 12. They form Figs. 4, 5, 6 and 7 of our Plate.

In comparing these examples of Lul's handicraft with the coin of Æthelberht bearing the same name, it is interesting to note that the head on the penny figured in Plate VI, No. 2, and in our Plate, No. 6, is, most unusually, placed within a lozenge-shaped compartment, and that the reverse of the piece illustrated in Plate VII, No. 12, in our Plate, No. 7, has the name Lul placed within the beaded compartments of a quartered quatrefoil, methods of treatment which are to a certain extent cognate with the beaded quadrilateral compartment on the reverse of the penny of Æthelberht, wherein the device of the wolf and twins is enclosed. Further, it should also be noted that on both obverse and reverse of the last mentioned penny of Offa by the moneyer LUL, the initial cross is of the Calvary form.

Lul continued to coin for Offa's successor, Coenwulf, and reference to Plate VIII, No. 9, of the *Museum Catalogue*, discloses an example of reverse very similar to that shown in Plate VII, Fig. 12, just described. See also, Ruding, Plate VI, Figs. 16, 17 and 18.¹ Of these the reverse of Fig. 18 very closely resembles that of the coin struck by Lul under Offa. A specimen from my collection is illustrated in our Plate, Fig. 7A.



The name LVLLA reappears on coins of Burgred, but, as Offa died in A.D. 796, and Burgred began his reign in A.D. 853, it is very improbable that reference is made to the same person.

The Runic characters on the coin of Æthelberht have been considered to show a connection with East Anglia, because the rare sceatta-like pennies, bearing the name and title BEONNA REX, assigned to Beonna, or Beorna, King of East Anglia, have the inscription partly in Runic letters, viz., in one instance + ÆOXXÆ REX and in another example + ÆEXXÆ NEXS. These coins are tentatively assigned to about the year A.D. 760, and the specimens illustrated in our Plate, Figs. 10 and 11, are in the National Collection.

As regards the type of the reverse of Æthelberht's coins, the wolf suckling the twins, Romulus and Remus, there can be no doubt that it was directly derived from the small brass coins of the period of

¹ Of this type another example is described in "A Find of Anglo-Saxon Coins," *Num. Chron.*, 1894, p. 33, No. 23.

Constantine the Great. These bear on the obverse a helmeted bust to left with the inscription URBS ROMA and on the reverse, occupying the greater part of the field, the wolf, also to left, suckling the twins; in the exergue are abbreviations denoting the place of mintage, and above the back of the wolf are small emblems, which vary in different specimens. See Plate, Fig. 2. Coins of this type are very frequently found in this country at the present day, and there is no difficulty in assuming that the artist who engraved the dies for Æthelberht's coinage had ready access to such examples. The same type of reverse occurs on certain silver and bronze coins of Carausius, Emperor in Britain, A.D. 287 to 293, but in this instance the wolf is represented with its head to the right, see Plate, Fig. 12, instead of to the left. It is, therefore, probable that the Anglo-Saxon sceattas bearing the type with the wolf to right, were copied from a coin of Carausius rather than from a specimen of the *Urbs Roma* type of Constantine the Great. A sceatta of this kind is illustrated in *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. i, Plate II, Fig. 9, and in our Plate, Fig. 13. Another specimen, found at Bitterne, in Hampshire, the site of Clausentum, was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, by Mr. William Dale, F.S.A., on February 4th, 1909.

The derivation of the types of early Anglo-Saxon coins from those of the Romans is not confined to the above cited instances of the adoption of that of the wolf and twins. Many of the sceattas bear a quadrilateral and beaded compartment, some having the letters  within it, Plate, Figs. 14, 15 and 16, and these are clearly copied from the common coins of Constantine and his family, *æ*3, bearing on the reverse a standard inscribed , or an altar similarly inscribed, Plate, Figs. 17 and 18.

Sceattas attributed to Peada, King of Mercia, A.D. 655-656 or 657, and Æthelred, of Mercia, A.D. 675-704, are similarly devised. These sceattas bear the names of Peada (Pada) and Æthelred (Æthilræd) entirely in Runic characters. See *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. i, Plate IV, Figs. 21-25, and our Plate, Figs. 19 and 20.

Coming to the time of Offa, certain pennies bear an oblong and beaded compartment, with his name therein, representing a standard, the staff of which is in the form of a long cross Calvary. See *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. i, Plate VII, Figs. 5 and 6, and our Plate, Fig. 21.

Another instance of the derivation of the type of Anglo-Saxon coins from a Roman original is afforded in the case of certain gold sceattas, or *trientes*, bearing on the reverse two busts, with traces of hands supporting an orb between them; above, a head and two wings; on either side of the head, three dots.

There can be no doubt as to this type having been copied either from a *solidus* of Magnus Maximus struck in London, see *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. i, Plate I, or from a *solidus* of similar type of Valentinian I., struck at Treves.

In later times the same model was adopted for the reverse type of a penny, believed to be unique, of Ælfred the Great, A.D. 871-900, see the Montagu Sale Catalogue, Plate V, No. 545, and for that of a penny of Ceolwulf II., King of Mercia, A.D. 874. This latter was comprised in the great Cuerdale find and is also believed to be unique, for the piece resembling it sold at the Montagu sale for £50, was merely an exceedingly good cast of the original. See *Numismatic Chronicle*, v, p. 10, and Hawkins, Fig. 580, for illustrations of the original.

The same device forms the obverse type of a third unique piece, viz., a penny of Halfdan, or Alfdene, King of Northumbria. This was also found at Cuerdale. It formed Lot 400 at the Montagu Sale and is illustrated, Plate IV, No. 400, of the catalogue.

It may perhaps be thought that too much has been said in regard to the adoption of Roman types by the designers of dies for Anglo-Saxon coins, but the want of a proper appreciation of this well-known fact seems to have been in a large degree responsible for the opinion expressed by the late Mr. Hawkins, and some other numismatists of the earlier half of the nineteenth century, that the coin of Æthelberht of East Anglia, now in the British Museum, was the work of a forger.

Until the discovery of the specimen now in my collection, the coin in the British Museum, Plate, Fig. 3, was the only known example of

Æthelberht's coinage, and it may, therefore, be well to set out the history of that piece so far as the same is now ascertainable.

Mr. D. H. Haigh, in *An Essay on the Numismatic History of the Ancient Kingdom of the East Angles*, published in 1845, wrote as follows :—

This coin first appeared in the collection of Mr. Lindegren, and was eventually purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum at the sale of Mr. Barker's coins for £1 8s.

The price was very low for a unique coin, but, unfortunately, doubts were entertained of its genuineness, arising, very probably, not so much from the peculiarity of its type and workmanship, as from the fact that its original possessor was a friend of the notorious forger, John White; and that the attention of Dr. Pegge, who first published it, was drawn to it by White himself.

Mr. Haigh then states that his own conviction was that this piece is perfectly genuine, and proceeds to give his reasons.

It is not requisite to repeat these here, as Mr. C. F. Keary, the compiler, and Dr. Reginald Stuart Poole, the editor of vol. i of the *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum*, writing in 1887, accept the piece as genuine, as also does Mr. H. A. Grueber in his *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland in the British Museum*, published in 1899. To this testimony may be added the opinion of the best judges of Anglo-Saxon coins of the present day, who entirely concur with the opinion entertained by Mr. Haigh and those of the experienced numismatists named above.

My specimen is far finer in condition than the earlier known example. It is clear that the obverses of both are from the same die, but it is also clear that the reverses are not from the same die. The number of the pellets forming the beaded compartment vary, and there are other differences apparent to those comparing the two reverses, see Plate, Figs. 1 and 3. My friends, Lord Grantley, Mr. W. J. Andrew, Mons. L. E. Brunn and Mr. L. A. Lawrence are entirely in accord with my own belief that the genuineness of my coin is absolutely beyond question, and I feel confident that this view will be endorsed by any competent expert who may inspect the piece.

As regards the important factor of weight. The British Museum

specimen weighs 16·8 grains, whereas mine is 2 grains heavier, but this is easily accounted for by reason of its much finer condition. The specimens of Offa's pennies, of the class with busts, in the National Collection, vary from 14 to 20·2 grains, the nearest in weight to my coin of Æthelberht being No. 25 in the catalogue, 18·5 grains. The coins of Cynethryth in the same collection weigh respectively 17·4, 15·9 and 19·7 grains.

It is now proposed to turn to what, perhaps, is the most important point connected with these two most interesting coins, and that is the consideration of the question of the identity of the king whose name they bear, and the circumstances in which pieces of this type were struck and issued.

The possible claimants are—

1. Æthelberht, King of East Anglia, killed by Offa, King of Mercia, in A.D. 793.
2. Æthelberht II., King of Kent, A.D. 748–762.
3. Æthelberht, King of Sussex, *circa* A.D. 774.

Taking them in the inverse order, it is in the highest degree improbable that the coins under discussion belong to Æthelberht of Sussex, as no coins have ever been attributed to any king of that Anglo-Saxon state.

As regards Æthelberht II., of Kent, the one example then known of this type of coin seems to have been assigned to this king on the ground that the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus was a device particularly applicable to the reign of two brothers; it being then supposed that Æthelberht II. had for several years reigned conjointly with his brother Eadberht I., see Lindsay's *View of the Coinage of the Heptarchy*, 1842, p. 59. But it does not now appear that this was a fact, as Eadberht I. reigned from A.D. 725 to 748, when he was *succeeded* by his brother Æthelberht II.

We now turn to Æthelberht of East Anglia, and, as the credit of the attribution is due to Mr. Haigh, I cannot do better than, in the first instance, quote his reasons for it, reserving my own remarks for the conclusion to a paper that I fear may have already wearied many of my readers by reason of its recital of detail.

Mr. Haigh's reasons for the attribution of the coin to Æthelberht, of East Anglia, may be summarised as under :—

1. The workmanship resembled that of Offa's earliest and most beautiful coins.
2. The coin exactly corresponds with those of Offa in weight.
3. The portrait resembles that of Offa in treatment.
4. The Runic letters on the obverse represent the name of a moneyer, LVL, which occurs on the coins of Offa and Coenwulf.

There seems to be no good reason for doubting the conclusion arrived at by Mr. Haigh that Æthelberht, King of East Anglia, is the rightful owner of the coins under discussion.

Offa, the great King of Mercia, began his reign in the year 757, while Æthelberht II. of Kent died in A.D. 762. It is therefore unlikely, though not impossible, that a coin resembling the best of those of Offa in style and workmanship could have been issued by a king of Kent prior to so early a date as A.D. 762.

Of the date of the succession of Æthelberht to the throne of East Anglia we have no definite knowledge, but a king, termed by Symeon, of Durham, Hunbeanna, is supposed to have reigned in East Anglia about 749, and Florence of Worcester mentions a King Beorna, who is assigned to about 758. It is conjectured that these names are equivalent to the Beonna whose name and title of king appear on the sceatta-like pennies referred to earlier in this paper. To him Mr. C. F. Keary tentatively assigns the date about A.D. 760.

Beorna, according to the genealogical table appended to *Florence of Worcester*, was succeeded by Æthelred, who, by his queen, Léofrûn, was the father of Æthelberht.

Florence of Worcester under the year 793, writes :—

Æthelberht, the most glorious and holy King of the East Angles, whose eminent virtues rendered him acceptable to Christ, the true King, and who was courteous and affable to all men, lost at once both his kingdom and his life, being beheaded by the detestable command of Offa, the mighty King of Mercia, at the infamous suggestion of his wife, Queen Cynethryth; but though iniquitously

slain and deprived of his kingdom, the king and martyr entered the courts of the blessed spirits, while the angels rejoiced in triumph.

The same chronicler under the heading, *The Origin of the East Anglian Kings*, adds the further information:—

During the reign of Offa, King of the Mercians:—Beorna reigned in East Anglia, and after him Ethelred, whose son, the holy Ethelberht, was born of his queen, Leofrunu. He held the kingdom of East Anglia for a short time only after his father, for he was slain without cause by Offa, King of Mercia, in the time of peace.

Matthew of Westminster gives a more enlightening account of the same matter. Under the annal 793 he narrates:—

The same year, Ethelred, King of Northumberland, married Elfleda, daughter of King Offa. About the same time, Ethelberht, King of the East Angles, son of King Ethelred, quitted his own kingdom, in spite of the strong remonstrances of his mother, and came to Offa, the most mighty King of Mercia, and begged of him that he would give him one of his daughters in marriage. And Offa, that most noble and most illustrious and most high-born king, when he had learnt the object of the arrival of King Ethelberht, received him with great honour in the royal palace, and showed him all the attention and kindness that lay in his power, not only to the king himself, but to all his comrades who had come with him. But when King Offa consulted his queen, Quendritha (Cynethryth) and asked her advice on the subject, she, being urged by the promptings of the Devil, is said to have made answer to her husband, "Behold, God has this day given your enemy into your hands, whose kingdom you have so long coveted with daily desire, so that now you can extinguish him secretly, and so his kingdom will pass under the power of you and your successors for ever."

But the king was greatly agitated at the advice of his wife, and reproving her with indignation, made answer to her, "You have spoken like one of the foolish women; far from me, far from me may so detestable an action be, which, if it were perpetrated, would be an everlasting reproach to me and my successors." And, having said this, the king departed from her. Afterwards, when his agitation had become gradually calmed, both the kings sat down at table, where, having refreshed themselves with royal food, they spent the whole day with music, and dancing, and harp-playing to their great delight. But in the meantime, the wicked queen, not abandoning her foul design, treacherously ordered a bed-chamber to be adorned in royal fashion with silk mattresses and curtains, for King Ethelbert to pass the night

upon ; and near the royal bed she caused a chair to be made ready, furnished with the most princely decorations, and surrounded on all sides by curtains, beneath which, wretch that she was, she caused a deep hole to be dug in order to effect her wicked purpose. Accordingly, when King Ethelbert, after a day of pleasure, wished to give up his limbs to sleep, he was conducted into this bed-chamber, and, as soon as he sat down in the chair which I have described, he was suddenly precipitated into the deep hole, chair and all, and strangled by the executioners whom the queen had concealed there. In the moment that the king had fallen into the pit, the wicked traitors threw over him pillows, and garments, and curtains, that his cries might not be heard. And thus that king and martyr, being murdered, though innocent, received the crown of life which God has promised to those that love Him.

But when this detestable action which the queen had done to the suitor of her daughter became known to the comrades of the murdered king, they departed from the palace before daylight, fearing lest they themselves might be subjected to similar treatment. And the noble King Offa, when he had received information of the crime that had been committed, mourned, and shut himself up in a chamber, and for three days would not taste food. But, although he was quite innocent of all participation in the king's death, he nevertheless sent a powerful expedition and annexed the kingdom of the East Angles to his own dominions. And the holy Ethelbert was buried without any honour, and the place was known to no one, till his body, having been pointed out by light from heaven, was found by the faithful, and was conveyed to the city of Hereford, where it now adorns with its miracles, and glorifies with its virtues, that episcopal see.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under *annal* 792, contents itself with the brief statement,

In this year Offa, King of the Mercians, commanded the head of King Æthelbryht to be struck off.

To quote from Mr. J. Charles Wall's *Shrines of British Saints*, p. 215 :

The victim appears to have been quietly buried at Marden, but his body was shortly translated to the chapel of Our Lady at Fernlega, or *Saltus Salicis*, which has since been known as Hereford . . . An elaborate monument was built over his grave, and on the site of the chapel there soon arose the first cathedral of Hereford. The relics of the saint were enclosed in a magnificent shrine by Bishop Athelstan II., 1012-1056, which stood but for a short period ; yet notwithstanding that

the relics are supposed to have been nearly destroyed when the church was burnt in 1055, a shrine of St. Ethelbert continued to draw many pilgrims until the time of the Reformation.

The same author adds, p. 216 :—

In the 1295 great list of relics, jewels, vestments, etc., pertaining to St. Paul's Cathedral, prominent mention is made of the "portable wooden feretory of St. Ethelbert"; it was plated with silver and adorned with precious stones, *coins* and rings. This feretory probably only contained some small relic of the martyred king, for it is stated that many other relics were in the same case.

From these varying accounts it would appear that Æthelberht, afterwards canonised St. Æthelberht, was a man of no mean talents and character, and that he successfully maintained the independence of his ancestral throne against the might of his great neighbour, Offa, King of Mercia.

That he was ambitious is known by the circumstance that he sought the hand of Offa's daughter, Ælfthryth, in marriage. The manner of his death, whether brought about by Offa, or by his determined and resolute consort, Cynethryth, shows the fear in which he was held as a possible rival to Offa and his successors.

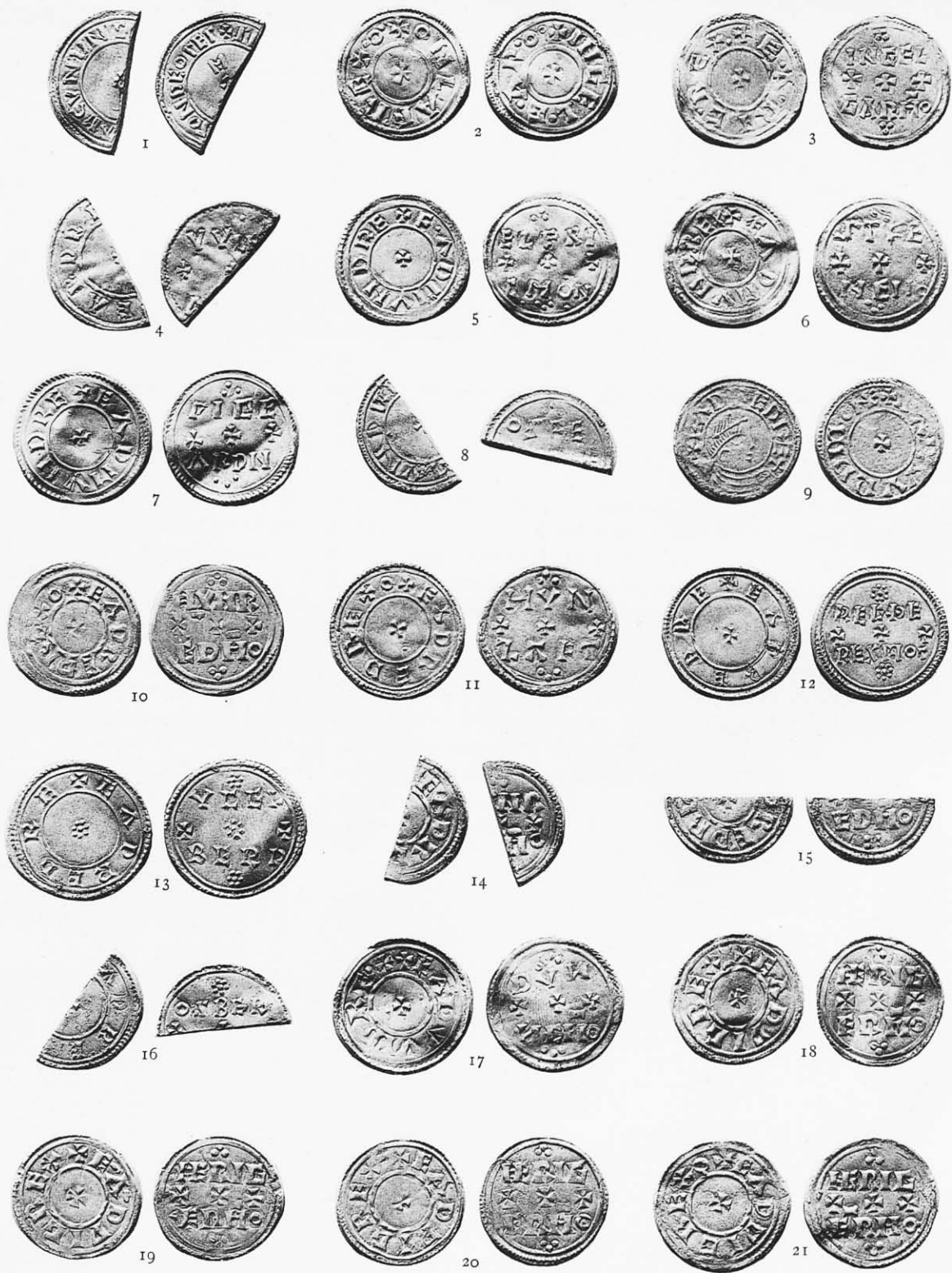
These historical facts seem to strengthen the likelihood of the coins before us having really been issued by such a king.

The type of the wolf and twins may have no more special significance than has the device upon the reverse of a coin of Offa, an oblong compartment, within which are two serpents intertwined, see *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. i, Plate VI, Fig. 6, and our Plate, Fig. 8. The unusual design and treatment of this coin, coupled with the use of an oblong beaded compartment to contain the device, constitute a convincing connecting link with the art displayed on the coins of St. Æthelberht, of East Anglia.

My thanks are accorded to Mr. H. A. Grueber, F.S.A., Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, for having furnished fourteen of the twenty-two pairs of casts used for the production of the illustrations in the plate.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATE.

Figs. 1 and 3 illustrate the two pennies of St. Æthelberht, whilst Fig. 2 shows the reverse from which the type is derived. Figs. 4, 5, 6 and 7 are coins of Offa, bearing the name of the moneyer LVLLA or LVL, whilst Fig. 7A is a coin of Coenwulf bearing the same name. Attention is directed to the similarity of the types of the reverses of Figs. 7 and 7A. No. 8 is a penny of Offa with a reverse as peculiar as is that of the coins of St. Æthelberht. No. 9 displays a coin of Queen Cynethryth, whereupon the name of the moneyer only appears upon the obverse. Nos. 10 and 11 are coins attributed to Beonna, King of East Anglia, and are illustrated to show the Runic letters on their obverses. No. 12 represents a *denarius* of Carausius with the type of the wolf and twins, whilst No. 13 is a sceatta, with reverse derived from it. Nos. 17 and 18 are coins of Constantine and Crispus, æ3, showing the standard and altar types, from which the reverses of the sceattas shown in Figs. 14, 15, 16 and 19 are derived. Again, Figs. 19 and 20 are sceattas of Peada and Æthelred, kings of Mercia, having Runic inscriptions. The last figure, No. 21, shows a coin of Offa, with an obverse of the *standard* type, which compares with the reverse of Fig. 17.




LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO.

COINS FOUND IN THE ISLE OF MAN.

PL. I.

ON SOME COINS OF THE TENTH CENTURY,
FOUND IN THE ISLE OF MAN, WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO A PENNY OF ANLAF
STRUCK AT DERBY.

BY P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., *President*.

HE coins hereafter described were recently sent to the writer by Mr. P. M. C. Kermode, Hon. Secretary of the Manx Museum and Ancient Monuments Trust, for examination and classification. A record has been preserved as to the places in the Isle of Man where certain of them were found, namely, Andreas and Port St. Mary, but as regards the remainder of the coins, although no record of their provenance exists, it is conjectured that some, at least, of these latter specimens formed part of a large hoard of coins and ornaments discovered at Douglas in the year 1894, which comprised coins from the reign of Eadweard the Elder to that of Eadgar, both inclusive.

To the unfortunate method of administration of the law affecting treasure trove is due the destruction of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of the coins comprised in this find. Some years ago the writer was told by a gentleman resident in Douglas that the Coroner had demanded, with dire threats, the delivery of many coins in the possession of a workman. As a result the bullion was delivered, but not until it had been reduced by the hammer to an indistinguishable mass of jumbled fragments.

The Treasury had received its pounds of silver, but what a loss was thus sustained to history and numismatic science! One wonders for how long the government of a civilised country will persist in the antiquated methods of a barbaric age. The loss to archæology is far

greater than the gain derived by the nation in securing a few cheap lots. A government should be liberal enough to adequately reward the workmen who find treasure, and honest enough to publicly promulgate a knowledge that fair treatment will, in *fact*, be accorded to the finders of treasure of gold and silver.

The coins to be described consist of two fragments of pennies and one complete penny of Anlaf, Sihtricsson, and a penny of Eric, Kings of Northumbria; a cut halfpenny of Eadweard the Elder; a cut halfpenny and two fragments of pennies of Æthelstan; three pennies, two cut halfpennies and two fragments of pennies of Eadmund; eight pennies, three cut halfpennies and a fragment of a penny of Eadred; ten pennies of Eadwig; three pennies and a cut halfpenny of Eadgar, and a penny of uncertain attribution. The period represented is therefore, approximately, from A.D. 901 to A.D. 960, in the early part of Eadgar's reign.

The following is a detailed list :—

KINGS OF NORTHUMBRIA.

Anlaf, Sihtricsson, nicknamed Cuaran.¹

1. *Obverse*.—[+ ANΓ]AF CVNVN[— —], small cross pattée.
Reverse.—✠ S[IGAREX MO]T ON DEOΓEΓ, small cross pattée; in field
 M. Plate I, Fig. 1, and Plate II, Fig. A.

This interesting fragment, approximately half of the entire coin, is by the same moneyer, Sigar, as the specimen described in the *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. i, No. 1098, p. 235, and illustrated Plate XXIX, 4, and here as Plate II, Fig. B. The legends have, so far as is possible, been restored from that piece, which is of precisely similar workmanship.

The obverse legend of the specimen in the National Collection has the letter O after the name and title of the king. This is indicative of York, *Eoferwic*, and, perhaps, by enlarged inference, of the sovereignty of Northumbria. The reverse has + SIGAREX MOT only.

¹ *Cúarán* is an Irish word meaning a shoe or sock of untanned leather: Kuno Meyer *Contributions to Irish Lexicography*, i, 545.

The fragment now being described was, without doubt, struck at Derby. The reading DEOΓEF is probably intended for DEOREB, the fourth letter and the last being incompletely punched and representing R and B respectively.

The name of the moneyer, however, removes all reasonable doubt.

Although in the letterpress of the *British Museum Catalogue* it is written *Sicares* and is treated as a name in the nominative case, and in the index is queried as the equivalent to *Sigared*, the illustration shows that what is written upon the coin is *Sigares*, and our Anglo-Saxon grammar informs us that the addition *es* indicates the possessive case of the nominative Sigar. Moreover, we find that Sigar was a moneyer of Æthelstan, Eadmund and Eadred, and that on coins of these three kings his name also occurs in the possessive case followed by the word MOT, which is thought to be a contraction of the Latin *moneta* = money, or perhaps mint.

A penny of Æthelstan in the National Museum at Rome locates Sigar at Derby, the inscription being read + SIHAREX WOT DEORABVI. It is probable that the letter read H is really a square E.

The M in the field of the reverse of the two coins of Anlaf is indicative of Mercia, and from other evidence we know that this mark is particularly associated with coins struck at the Mercian mint of Derby, and possibly at Chester also, during the reigns of Æthelstan and of his successors to and including Eadgar.

It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the specimen in the British Museum was also struck at Derby, and that the inscription on the obverse, EVNVNE O, signifies King of York, or of Northumbria, and not that the coin was struck at York.

But in arriving at a conclusion as to when these coins of Anlaf were struck at Derby, a coin of Æthelstan now belonging to the writer, from the Rashleigh collection, Lot 253, has to be taken into consideration. This is illustrated, Plate II, Fig. C.

This penny reads on the obverse + EDELSTAN RE. and on the reverse + SIAREX MOT.: in the field M, between the initial and central crosses pattées. The fabric, style and lettering of this piece exactly correspond with the two Derby coins of Anlaf, for there can be little

hesitation in now assigning the Museum specimen to that mint; so much so that, without reading the actual lettering, it could not be distinguished from the coin of Anlaf illustrated in the *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. i, Plate XXIX, Fig. 4. The two coins are placed side by side for comparison as C and B in Plate II hereof. The coinage to which this coin of Æthelstan belongs, is that indicated as Type V in the arrangement adopted in vol. ii of the *British Museum Catalogue*. Whilst not prepared to concur with this numerical order, the writer is of opinion that Type V is to be assigned to the period immediately preceding and following the enactments of the synod held at Greatley in A.D. 928. One of these enactments provided that no one should coin money except in a town, and this appears to have led to the placing of the names of mints upon the coins. Type V comprises coins without the name of the mint, but the greater number of this type disclose mint names. The writer's coin of Æthelstan and the Museum specimen of Anlaf are without the mint name, the fragment of Anlaf of the same type and by the same moneyer as both, has the mint name, and all three have the distinguishing mark M in the field of the reverse.

It would seem, therefore, that Type V of Æthelstan, according to the British Museum order, was current in the year 928, and a little before and after that date. Historians have not recognised that Anlaf had any permanent foothold in Northumbria, and still less so in Mercia at so early a date as 928, and it is therefore desirable, in view of the important historical inferences for the first time disclosed by a chronological study of these coins, to review anew the known facts so far as the meagre chronicles of the period may record them. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, under annal 926, informs us that Sihtric then died, and King Æthelstan assumed the kingdom of the Northumbrians. The same authority states, under the following year, that King Æthelstan expelled King Guthfrith. From other sources we presume that Guthfrith, otherwise Godfrid, was brother of the deceased Sihtric, King of Northumbria.

The chronicles, however, are silent as to Anlaf, son of Sihtric, but the coins seem to show that on the death of his father in 926, Anlaf

must have succeeded to the Northumbrian kingdom. He was doubtless the son of Sihtric by a former wife, as it was only in January, 925 or 926, that King Æthelstan gave to Sihtric his sister in marriage. Annals 928 to 932 of the *Saxon Chronicle* are almost bare of record, but under 933 we learn that King Æthelstan went into Scotland, with both a land-force and a ship-force, and ravaged a great part of it, that is, of course, of the southern half. This is significant when we consider the fact that Anlaf was son-in-law of Constantine, king of the Scots. Afterwards, in A.D. 937, was fought the celebrated battle of Brunanburh where Anlaf and Constantine were hopelessly defeated by Æthelstan and his brother Eadmund. It would seem, therefore, that the coins of Æthelstan and Anlaf struck at Derby belong to the period of disturbance which prevailed between the death of Sihtric in 926 and the raid undertaken by Æthelstan against the king of the Scots in 933.

The enactments of the Synod of Greatley narrow the possible period of issue to a date very close to A.D. 928.

Derby seems then to have been debateable ground, held alternately by Æthelstan and Anlaf.

In a former paper¹ the writer has alluded to Mr. Andrew's belief that the battle of Brunanburh took place in Derbyshire, and it is hoped that the facts above set out may tend to strengthen that view of the case.

2. *Obverse*.—[+]A • N • L • A • F C[VNVNC], small cross pattée, with E to right of it.

Reverse.—+ FAR [MAN] [MIN]ETR, small cross pattée. A fragment approximately half a penny. Unpublished.

3. *Obverse*.—+ ONLAF • REX • O •, small cross pattée.

Reverse.—+ INGEL • G • AR • O •, small cross pattée. Plate I, Fig. 2.

This coin is similar to that illustrated in *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. i, Plate XXIX, Fig. 7. Its workmanship is like that of coins of Eadwig and Eadgar. Ingelgar struck money at York for Anlaf and Eric as kings of Northumbria, and also for Eadmund and Eadred as kings of All England.

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, iv, p. 74.

Eric. First reign 948–949, second reign 952–954.

4. *Obverse.*—+ E • A • RIC • REX •, small cross pattée.

Reverse.—

•••
INGEL
+++
GAR MO
•••

Plate I, Fig. 3.

The spelling of the king's name as upon this coin, E*ar*ic, is otherwise unknown. It appears to have been struck from an altered die of Eadred, the first *two* letters of that king's name having been retained. The piece is therefore assignable to A.D. 952, the commencement of Eric's second reign in Northumbria.

KINGS OF ALL ENGLAND.

Eadweard the Elder, A.D. 901–925.

5. *Obverse.*—[+ EADVV]EARD RE[X], small cross pattée.

Reverse.—

•
VVL[F]HE
+++
A[RD] MO
•

Moneyer Wulfheard. A cut halfpenny.

Plate I, Fig. 4.

Æthelstan, A.D. 925–939.

6. *Obverse.*—[+ E]DLST • AN RE[X TO BRIT], small cross pattée.

Reverse.—+ RE[GNALD MO]EÖFERPIG, small cross pattée. A cut halfpenny, slightly broken.

7. *Obverse.*—[+ ÆDE]LZTAN R[E], small cross pattée.

Reverse.—

•••
VV]LFZ
+++
TAN]MO
•••

A fragment.

8. *Obverse*.— + Æ[ÐELZTAN REX T]O BRT, rosette.
Reverse.— + BO - - - - - ECF, rosette. Struck at Chester.

Eadmund, A.D. 939-946.

9. *Obverse*.— + ÆADMVND REX, small cross pattée.
Reverse.—

•••
 ELFRI
 + + +
 E MON
 •••••

Plate I, Fig. 5.

Elfric, or Ælfric, was a moneyer at Canterbury under Æthelstan.

10. *Obverse*.— E • ADMVND RE+, small cross pattée.
Reverse.—

•••
 STFE
 + + +
 NE MO
 •••

Plate I, Fig. 6.

11. *Obverse*.— + EADMVND RE, small cross pattée.
Reverse.—

•••
 HIGE
 + + +
 ARD N
 •••

Plate I, Fig. 7.

12. *Obverse*.— [+ EAD]MVND R[E].
Reverse.—

•••
 EARD
 + + +

Moneyer Eardulf, a cut halfpenny, broken into two pieces.

13. *Obverse*.— [+ EAD]MVND RE[X], small cross pattée.
Reverse.—

•••
 OSFE
 + + +

Plate I, Fig. 8.

Moneyer Osferth, a cut halfpenny.

14. *Obverse.*— + EΛ[DMV]ND RE, small cross pattée.

Reverse.— — EBE
+ + +
OD M̄O

A fragment, moneyer Heremod.

15. *Obverse.*— [+ EΛ]DMV[ND RE], small cross pattée.

Reverse.— MΛ
+

A small fragment, moneyer Manna.

Eadred, A.D. 946–955.

16. *Obverse.*— [+ EAD]RED RE, crowned bust, to right.

Reverse.— + GVNERE[ʒ MO]N, cross pattée.

Guner is an unpublished moneyer for this reign, but the name occurs at Derby as that of a moneyer of Æthelræd II.

17. *Obverse.*— + EADRED REX, crowned bust, to right.

Reverse.— + ʒARVVRD MONE.

Plate I, Fig. 9.

18. *Obverse.*— EADRED REX, small cross pattée.

Reverse.—
•••
GRIM
+ + +
ES MOT
•••

19. *Obverse.*— + EADRED REX O, small cross pattée.

Reverse.—
•••
HVNR
+ + +
ED MO
•••

Struck at York. Plate I, Fig. 10.

Hunred struck money at York for Eric also.

20. *Obverse.*— + E • ADRE • REX •, small cross pattée.

Reverse.—
•••
HVNR
+ + +
EDMOI
•••

Struck at York.



LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO.

COINS FOUND IN THE ISLE OF MAN, FIGURES 22—27,
AND DERBY COINS OF ANLAF AND ÆTHELSTAN.

21. *Obverse.*— + EADRED REX O, small cross pattée.

Reverse.—

••
HVN
+++
ZΛFT
••

Struck at York. Plate I, Fig. 11.

22. *Obverse.*— + EADRED RE, small cross pattée.

Reverse.—

•••
REGÐE
+++
REX MOT
•••

Plate I, Fig. 12.

23. *Obverse.*— [+ EADR]ED RE, small cross pattée.

Reverse.—

SI
O +
RÐ

A fragment ; moneyer, Siferth.

24. *Obverse.*— + EADRED RE, a rosette.

Reverse.—

•••
VCEL
+ ••• +
BERD
•••

Plate I, Fig. 13.

This coin is a variety of British Museum Type iv which is represented by only one example. The moneyer is new to any reign.

25. A cut halfpenny, moneyer Hunred. Struck at York. Plate I, Fig. 14.

26. A cut halfpenny, similar. Plate I, Fig. 15.

27. A cut halfpenny, moneyer Osbern, unpublished. Plate I, Fig. 16.

Eadwig, A.D. 955–959.

28. *Obverse.*— + EADVIG REX •••, small cross pattée.

Reverse.—

••
BOIGA
+ BE + DA +
MONETA
••

Struck at Bedford. *British Museum Catalogue*, No 2.

29. *Obverse.*— + EADV[VI] REX, small cross pattée.

Reverse.—

••
 IHEM
 +HA+H+
 VN MO
 ••

Broken : Struck at Southampton.

The moneyer's name appears to be Winemund. An unpublished moneyer.

30. *Obverse.*— + EADVVI RE • +, small cross pattée.

Reverse.—

••
 DVI
 + + +
 IC MO
 ••

Dunninc was a moneyer of Huntingdon. Plate I, Fig. 17.

31. *Obverse.*— + EADPI REX ☽, small cross pattée.

Reverse.—

••
 HERIG
 + + +
 ER MO
 ••

A moneyer of Eadred, Eadwig and Eadgar. Struck at York.
 Plate I, Fig. 18.

32. *Obverse.*— + E - A - DPI REX, small cross pattée.

Reverse.—

••
 HERIG
 ER MO
 ••

Struck at York. Plate I, Fig. 19.

33. *Obverse.*— + EADPI REX †, small cross pattée.

Reverse.—

••
 HERIG
 + + +
 ER MO
 ••

Struck at York. Plate I, Fig. 20.

34. *Obverse.*— + EADPIG REX O, small cross pattée.

Reverse.—

•••
HERIG
+ + +
ER HO—

•••
Plate I, Fig. 21.

The final letter on the obverse in an O attached by a straight down-stroke to the inner circle. The O in MO on the reverse is laterally attached by a straight stroke to the inner circle. Struck at York.

35. *Obverse.*— + EADYVI RE, small cross pattée.

Reverse.—

•••
•I·VN
+ + +
M HO

•••
Plate II, Fig. 22.

An unpublished moneyer, probably equivalent to Juhan and Johan.

36. *Obverse.*— + EADYVI RE, small cross pattée.

Reverse.—

•••
LEVI
+ + +
GH M·

An unpublished moneyer. Plate II, Fig. 23.

37. *Obverse.*— + EADVVI REX I, small cross pattée.

Reverse.—

•••
P·VRE
+ + +
ETEL

Thurcetel is an unpublished moneyer for this reign. Plate II, Fig. 24.

Eadgar, A.D. 957–975.

38. *Obverse.*— + EADGAR REX, small cross pattée.

Reverse.—

•••
BENE
+ + +
DIHT

•••
Plate II, Fig. 25.

39. *Obverse.*— + EADGAR REX', small cross pattée.

Reverse.—

•••
HERIG
+ + +
ER MO
•••

Struck at York.

40. Similar to No. 39. Double struck through turning in the dies. Struck at York.

41. A cut halfpenny, moneyer Heriger. Struck at York. Plate II, Fig. 26.

Uncertain.

This is a penny common in type of obverse and reverse to the reigns of Eadmund, Eadred, Eadwig and Eadgar.

Obverse.— + LOEZV+ZEWI, retrograde, small cross pattée in centre.

Reverse.—

•••
KEMATIO
+ + +
ZWKV
•••

Plate II, Fig. 27.

The legends are rendered somewhat indistinct by reason of the coin having moved while being struck. The writer is not, at present, able to suggest any reasonable interpretation of their meaning, but it is hoped that the problem may one day be solved.

The following coins of the Derby mint are illustrated on Plate II for comparison with those previously described.

A. The coin of Anlaf Sihtricsson, already described.

B & C. Already referred to.

D. Penny of Æthelstan.

Obverse.— + EDELSTAN•RE SAXORVM, small cross pattée in centre.

Reverse.— + BEORNARD ON DEOR•ABV, small cross pattée in centre.

E. Penny of Æthelstan.

Obverse.— + EDFLITAN RE+ SAL+ OR•V •, small cross pattée in centre

Reverse.— + MEKLA MOT IN DERABI, small cross pattée in centre.

M in the field.

F. Penny of Æthelstan.

Obverse.— E + DEL•STAN RE•BΓ, small cross pattée in centre, a pellet in the field.

Reverse.— + CEEL•MNEM•DEB, large cross pattée.

G. Penny of Æthelstan.

Obverse.— + ÆDELS•TAN REX TO BRIT, small cross pattée.

Reverse.— + MARTINVS MET DEGRAEV, small cross pattée.



THE BARNSTAPLE MINT.
WILLIAM I. FIGURES 1 to 4.



THE EXETER MINT.
WILLIAM I. FIGURES 5 to 17. WILLIAM II. FIGURES 18 & 19.



THE TOTNES MINT.
WILLIAM II. FIGURES 20 & 21.


A NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF THE REIGNS OF
WILLIAM I. AND II. (1066-1100).

By P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A.—*President.*

PART II. THE HISTORIES OF THE MINTS, *continued.*

DEVONSHIRE :—*D.B. Devenescire.*

BARNSTAPLE :—*D.B. Barnestaple, Barnestapla, Barnestabla,*
"Bardestaplensi burgo."

 HIS ancient port and borough is situate in the hundred of Branton, 38 miles north-west from the City of Exeter. In 1831 it had 5,079 inhabitants, and the population is now returned at 14,137.

It is claimed that the place had the status of a borough in the reign of Æthelstan, but no coin of that king has yet been discovered to support the claim.

We are indebted to Mr. L. A. Lawrence in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1897, for the correct attribution to Barnstaple of coins theretofore assigned to Bardney in Lincolnshire. These are of the reigns of Æthelræd II., Cnut, Harold I., and Edward the Confessor. None of Harthacnut and Harold II. have yet been noted, but it is probable that specimens may one day be brought to light.

The mint was also worked in the reign of William I. and in that of Henry I., but no coins of William II. bearing its name have yet been found.

Under the king's demesne lands we find the following entry in the Exchequer Domesday.

"The king has a borough, Barnestaple. King Edward had it in demesne. There are forty burgesses within the borough, and nine

without the borough. Among them all they render to the king forty shillings by weight, and to the Bishop of Coutances twenty shillings by tale. Twenty-three houses have been laid waste there since the king came into England."

From the entry in the same survey relating to Exeter we learn that—

"When an expedition went by land or by sea, this city did service to the same amount as five hides of land. Barnstaple, Lydford, and Totnes did service to the same amount as this city."

It would seem that prior to the Conquest Barnstaple was a royal borough, the mint in Edward the Confessor's time being probably farmed to the burgesses, as no mention is made of it in Domesday. For the same reason it is clear that when Domesday was compiled, the mint was not in the king's hands. It then continued to be held by the burgesses, or more probably was included in the lordship of Geoffrey de Mowbray, Bishop of Coutances, who held the *tertius denarius* of the borough. It may be, with regard to the coins of this mint, that those of Type II of William I., reading ✠ **LEOFPINE ON BIIR** and **BVRI**, should be restored to Peterborough, for the strokes constituting the second letter of the mint name have a slight inward inclination at the base, and thus appear to indicate **v** rather than **Δ**. See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ii, Plate I, Fig. 17.

Types V, VI, and VIII are in evidence, representing the period from Michaelmas, 1077, to the date of the Conqueror's death in September, 1087; the absence of Type VII being attributable to the circumstance that comparatively few coins of that type have yet been discovered.

It is also thought that one or more of the earlier types may yet be found, to carry back the coinage to the time when Geoffrey de Mowbray became Lord of Barnstaple. On the death of the Conqueror, the militant Bishop of Coutances joined the rebellion against Rufus, and the absence of Barnstaple coins struck during the reign of the second William may be attributed to this fact. At a later date the honour of Barnstaple, as well as that of Totnes, seems to have been held by Juhel de Totnes. Dr. J. H. Round in *Feudal England*, p. 486, writes as follows :—

" There is a story quoted by Dugdale, under Totnes priory, from the records of the Abbey of Angers, that Juhel 'of Totnes,' the Domesday baron, was expelled by William Rufus, and his lands given to Roger de Nunant. . . . But it would seem that Juhel retained part as the honour of Barnstaple, while the Nonants (*sic*) held the rest as the honour of Totnes. Indeed he must have held both *capita* so late as 1113, when, says the monk of Laon, 'venimus ad castrum, quod dicitur Bannistaplum, ubi manebat quidam princeps nomine Joellus de Totenes,' etc. (Hermannus, ii, 17), adding that they afterwards visited Totnes, 'præfati principis castrum'" (*ibid.*, 18).

From these facts it is deduced that after the rebellion of Geoffrey de Mowbray, Barnstaple was granted to the powerful baron, Juhel de Totnes, and was retained by him until at least A.D. 1113.

It is probable that Juhel remained true to Rufus, and was rewarded by him with the grant of Barnstaple, formerly the property of the rebellious Bishop. Juhel, as will be seen, preferred to coin at his original *caput*, Totnes, rather than at his newly acquired borough of Barnstaple.

WILLIAM I.

Types I, II, III and IV :—

No examples hitherto noted.

Type V :—

* **SEPORD ON BARDE**

Type VI :—

* **SEPORD ON BARDE**, Plate IX, Fig. 1.

" " " **BARDI**, S. Sharp.

Type VII :—

No example hitherto noted.

Type VIII :—

† * **GOODESBRAND ON BA**, Beaworth, 5. Illustrated, vol. ii,
Plate III, Fig. 54, and
Plate IX, Fig. 2.

* " " " variety, no ornament on either
shoulder of the king.

* This sign throughout indicates that the coin is in the British Museum.

† Similarly indicates that the coin is in the writer's collection.

† * ✱ **SEPORD ON BARD**, Beaworth, 7.

† 2 varieties, Plate IX, Figs. 3
and 4.

* " " " **BARDI**, Beaworth, 1.

EXETER :—*D.B. Exceestre, Excestre, Essecestra,
Essecestre, Exonia.*

This truly ancient city has a history extending to British and Roman times. Although a city and county of itself, it is geographically in the hundred of Wonford and is the capital of Devonshire. It is situate 176 miles west by south from London, and in 1831 contained 23,479 inhabitants. Now the number is 50,573.

It has a long numismatic record, but it is sufficient for our purpose to state that coins struck here of Ælfred the Great, of Æthelstan and of all his Saxon and Norman successors are preserved to us.

The Laws of Æthelstan expressly mention Exeter as having two moneyers, a number that was subsequently increased.

In the reign of Edward the Confessor, about the year 1050, the sees of Crediton and St. Germans were united under one bishop, and Exeter was made the head of the diocese.

The following account is given in Domesday :—

"In the city of Exeter the King has two hundred and eighty-five houses rendering custom. This [city] renders eighteen pounds a year. Of these Baldwin the Sheriff has six pounds by weight and assay, and Colvin twelve pounds by tale for the service of Queen Eadgyth. In this city forty-eight houses have been laid waste since the King came into England. The city in the time of King Edward did not pay geld except when London and York and Winchester paid, and this was half a mark of silver for the use of the men-at-arms. When an expedition went by land or by sea, this city did service to the same amount as five hides of land. Barnstaple and Lydford and Totnes did service to the same amount as this city. The burgesses of the city of Exeter have, outside the city, land for twelve ploughs which renders no custom except to the city itself."

The mint is not mentioned, and it was therefore either farmed to the burgesses, or at the time of Domesday, included in the *tertius denarius* of the city, then held by Baldwin the Sheriff.

It is perhaps not material to consider which of these two cases was

the fact, as, contrary to Mr. Andrew's belief when he wrote *A Numismatic History of Henry I.*, p. 189, every type, both of William I. and William II., was consecutively issued from Exeter.

WILLIAM I.

Type I:—

- † * **BRIHTRIC ON EXEC**
- † * **ELPNI ON EXELSD**E, presented by L. A. Lawrence.¹
- † * **ƆODA ON EXELESTR**
- * * **LIFPINE ON EXELE**
- † * **LIVINC ON EXELES**I,† Plate IX, Fig. 5.
- † * **MANNA ON EA**. Variety, without sceptre, from Pownall, Montagu and L. A. Lawrence, Lot 35, collections, Plate IX, Fig. 6.

Type II:—

- * **ÆGPL. ON EXELE**
- * **SIEPARD ON EXEC**. Loscombe Sale, 1855.

Type III:—

- † * **ÆLPINE ON EXEI**
Illustrated, vol. ii, Plate II, Fig. 24, and Plate IX, Fig. 7.
- * **SÆPEARD ON EXELI**, Montagu, 1896, Lot 198.
- * **SPOTINC ON E—LEX**, Lord Pembroke, Plate IV, No. 1.
- * **SPOTTINC ON EXELE**,
- * " " " **[EXE]LE**
- " " " **EXI**, St. Mary Hill Church Find.

Mule, *Obverse* Type III, *Reverse* Type IV.

- * **SPOTTINC ON EXI**, *Archæologia*, vol. iv, Pl. XXI.
Ruding, Supplement II, Plate I, 1. Illustration reproduced,
vol. ii, p. 146, Fig. F.

Type IV:—

- * **SIEPINE ON XELSTE**, Sainthill, p. 190.
- † " " " **EXCI**, from Rashleigh, Lot 346, Plate IX,
Fig. 8.
- * * **SPEOTINC ON EXEL**,
- " " " **EXEE**, Lieut.-Col. H. W. Morrieson.
- * **SPOTINC ON EXELS**, the late F. G. Hilton Price.
- " " " **EXEE**, Sainthill, Plate XVI, 38.
- * **PVLFPNE ON EXLE**, Snelling, Plate I, 7.

¹ The die, as originally prepared, read * **ELPNI ON LVNDE**, but it was subsequently altered to read as above described.

* **PVLFPINE ON EXEI**, Malmesbury Find; Bernard Roth
from Montagu, Lot 203.

† " " **ONEXEI**,
Illustrated, vol. ii, p. 147, Fig. G, and Plate IX, Fig. 9.

Type V :—

* * **IELFPINE ON IEXE**

† * **SEFINE ON IEXELI**, from Rashleigh, Lot 346, Plate IX
Fig. 10.

† " " " " from Murdoch, Lot 188.
Illustrated, vol. ii, Plate II, Fig. 42, and Plate IX, Fig. 11.

* **SIEFINE ON IEXEL**, Sainthill.

* **SEPORD ON IEXELI**, J. Verity.

* * **PVLFPINE ON IEXE**.

Type VI :—

* **SEMIER ON IEXELI**, Rashleigh, Lot 348.

* **SEFINE ON IEXEL**, Christmas Sale, Lot 208.

" " " **IEXELI**, Allen Sale, Lot 308.

* " " " **IEXEX**, Plate IX, Fig. 12.

* * **PVLFPINE ON IE**.

" " " **IEX**.

Type VII :—

* **GODSBRAND ON EX**.

* * **SEMIER ON IEXSCI**, Plate IX, Fig. 13.

* **SEFINE ON IEXSEL**.

Type VIII :—

* **LIFFINE O/V EXEL**, the late Sir John Evans.

* " **ON EXELI**, Beaworth, 2.

* " " **IEXE**, Beaworth, 32.

† * " " **IEXEL**, Beaworth, 31, Plate IX, Fig. 14.

* " " **IEXEI**, Beaworth, 7.

† " " **IEXEL**, variety; annulet on king's left
shoulder, Plate IX, Fig. 15.

* * **LFPINE ON IEXEL**, Beaworth, 1.

* * **SEMIER ON IEXLT**, Beaworth, 2.

* " " **IEXEL**, Beaworth, 46.

† " " " " variety; no ornament on king's
left shoulder.

† " " " " variety; Hks. 242, Plate IX, Fig. 17.

* " " **IEXELE**, Beaworth, 5.

" " **EXC**

- * **SEPINE ON IEXCI**, Durrant Sale, Lot 152.
 † * " " " **IEXEL**, Beaworth, 46.
 * " " " **IEXECE**, Beaworth, 12.
 † " " " " variety; annulet on king's left shoulder.
 Illustrated, vol. ii, Plate III, Fig. 61, and Plate IX, Fig. 16.
 † * **SEPINE ON IEXECE**, variety; Hks. 242.

WILLIAM II.

Type 1 :—

- * **SEPINE ON IEXCE**, Ruding, Supp. II, Plate I, 2.
 " " " **IEXCEL**, L. A. Lawrence, Lot 75.
 * " " " **IEXELI**, Tamworth Find, Plate IX, Fig. 18.
 * **SE - - PINE ONV EXELI**, Tamworth Find.

Type 2 :—

- * **LIFPINE ON IEXS**, Allen, Lot 309, W. S. Lincoln and Son.

Type 3 :—

- † * **EDPINE ON IEXSE[L]**, Plate IX, Fig. 19.
 † * **LIFPINE ON IEX - - -**, chipped.
 † * **PVLFPINE O-EX**.

Type 4 :—

- * **BRIHTPINE ON IEX**

Type 5 :—

- * **LIFPINE ON IEX**.

TOTNES :—*D.B. Totenais, Toteneis, Totheneis burgum.*

This ancient borough is situate on the western bank of the river Dart in the hundred of Coleridge and 25 miles south-south-west from Exeter. In 1831 it had a population of nearly 4,000, a number which is not far exceeded to-day.

Numerous coins were struck here under Æthelræd II. and Cnut, but after the reign of the latter there is a long gap until that of William II.

Under the heading "Land of Judhel (or Juhel) of Totnes" we have the following account in Domesday :

"Judhel holds of the King the borough of Totnes, which King Edward held in demesne. There are within the borough one hundred

burgesses less five, and fifteen without the borough working the land. Among them all it renders eight pounds by tale for geld. Formerly it rendered three pounds by weight and assay. This borough does not pay geld except when Exeter pays geld, and then it renders forty pence. If an expedition sets out by land or by sea, Totnes, Barnstaple and Lydford between them render as much service as Exeter renders."

As regards their numismatic history, Totnes and Lydford were both prolific mints under Æthelred II. and Cnut, and both had ceased to operate prior to the Conquest. Lydford survived until the reign of Edward the Confessor and was not afterwards revived: Totnes again became a mint town in the reign of William Rufus. Its history has been to some extent anticipated in the narration of that of Barnstaple.

So far as is at present known, the only type of William II. emanating from this mint is the second of his reign, Hawkins 246.

This was probably issued by Juhel de Totnes after Barnstaple had been forfeited by the treason of Geoffrey de Mowbray, Bishop of Coutances, and granted to Juhel as a reward for his faithful adherence to the cause of Rufus. It would appear that Juhel transferred the coinage rights attaching to Barnstaple to Totnes, the *caput* of his earlier barony.

Whether the coinage here by Juhel was discontinued after the issue of Type 2 we cannot say, but no specimens of subsequent types of the reign have yet been noted.

As Juhel continued to hold both Totnes and Barnstaple until well on in the reign of Henry I., viz., 1113, there is every reason to think that later types of the Totnes mint will one day come to light.

WILLIAM II.

Type 2 :—

* **✠ DVNIE ON TOTNESE**, from Durrant, Lot 121.

† " " " " from Allen, Lot 342 (see Plate II),
and Murdoch Sale. Plate IX, Fig. 20.

* **✠ DVNIE ON TOTN**, Lieut.-Col. H. W. Morrisson.



1



2



3



THE BRIDPORT MINT.

WILLIAM I. FIGURES 1 to 3.



4



5



6



7



8



9



THE DORCHESTER MINT.

WILLIAM I. FIGURES 4 to 8.

WILLIAM II. FIGURE 9.



10



11



12



13



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO.

THE SHAFTESBURY MINT.

WILLIAM I. FIGURES 10 to 16.

WILLIAM II. FIGURES 17 to 20.

† * **DVNIE ON TOTN**, from Rashleigh, Lot 397. Plate IX,
Fig. 21.

* **DVNNIC ON TOTNESE**, Sale at Sotheby's, 20.11.1847,
Lot 73.

No coins of this mint of William I. are known, and only the above described specimens of William II., type 2.

DORSET : *D.B., Dorsete.*

BRIDPORT : *D.B., Brideport.*

This seaport and ancient borough is situate in the hundred of Whitchurch 14 miles from Dorchester, on the high road from London to Exeter. In 1831 it had a population of 3,742, and the number of inhabitants is now 5,710. It takes its name from the River Bride, or Brit.

The account of the borough is placed at the head of the Domesday Survey of Dorset in company with Dorchester, Wareham and Shaftesbury, and is the second of the four boroughs there described.

The following is a translation of the entry :—

“In Bridport in the time of King Edward there were one hundred and twenty houses. It was answerable for all service of the king and paid geld for five hides, that is to say, half a mark of silver to the use of the household servants of the king, there being excepted [from this commutation] the customs which pertain to the ‘*firma unius noctis*.’¹ There was one moneyer, who rendered to the king one mark of silver and twenty shillings when the money was changed. Now there are there one hundred houses, and twenty are so ruinous that those who dwell in them are not able to pay geld.”

The circumstance of the record speaking of the existence of a moneyer there in the time of Edward the Confessor is the only evidence of Bridport having possessed a mint prior to the Conquest, for no coin struck there in his reign, or in that of Harold II., has yet been discovered.

Type VIII of the Conqueror is the only one extant to show that

¹ The “*firma unius noctis*” was a liability to provide the entertainment and sustenance for twenty-four hours of the king and his court when visiting the county. It is estimated that the then equivalent in money was £104.

Bridport possessed a mint, and as nearly twenty years had elapsed since the troubles of 1067, it is only fair to assume that Bridport had by then derived benefit from William's firm rule in this land.

The coins of types 1 and 2 of William II., formerly attributed to this mint, proved, on actual inspection, to be of Lincoln and Warwick respectively.

WILLIAM I.

Type VIII :—

- * ✱ **IELFRIC ON BRIPVT**, Beaworth, 2. Plate X, Fig. 1.
- * ✱ **BRIHTPI ON BRD**, Beaworth, 2. Plate X, Fig. 2.
- † * " " " **BRIDI**, Beaworth, 8. † Plate X, Fig. 3

DORCHESTER : *D.B., DoreCestre.*

This, the county town of Dorset, has a history extending back to ancient British and Roman times. It is situate on the southern bank of the river Frome, 120 miles south-west by west from London. In 1831 it had 2,743 inhabitants, and it now has 7,946.

Although specified in the Laws of Æthelstan as being entitled to two moneys, no coins struck at Dorchester in the reign of that king have come down to us. Specimens struck here in the reigns of Æthelræd II., Cnut, Harold I., Harthacnut and Edward the Confessor are in evidence, but all are far from being common.

It is probable that Harold II. coined here, but no example of the mint struck in his reign has yet been recorded.

The following is a translation of the entry in Domesday, which is the first in the record relating to Dorset :—

"In Dorchester in the time of King Edward there were one hundred and seventy-two houses. These were answerable for all service of the king and paid geld for ten hides, that is to say, one mark of silver to the use of the household servants of the king, there being excepted [from this commutation] the customs which pertain to the 'firma noctis.' There were there two moneys, each of whom rendered to the king one mark of silver and twenty shillings when the money was changed. Now there are there eighty-eight houses and one hundred have been totally destroyed from the time of Hugh the Sheriff until now."

As regards the coins of our period struck at Dorchester, types I, II and III are at present unrepresented, but specimens of all the remaining types of William I. have been noted, as have examples of types 2, 3 and 5 of William II.

There is no reason to suppose that the remaining types may not yet be forthcoming.

WILLIAM I.

Types I, II, and III :—

No examples hitherto noted.

Type IV :—

* **GODPINE ON DORCEI**, H. Symonds.

Mule IV—V :—

* **GODPINE ON DORE.**

" " " **DORLET.**

Type V :—

* **GODPINE ON DORI.** Plate X, Fig. 4.

* **OETER ON DORCES**, Warne Sale, Lot 161.

* **OTER ON DORCES.**

* " " " **DORTLEI**, Beaworth Find. Plate X, Fig. 5.

" " " **DORTLEST.**

Type VI :—

* **GODPINE ON DORI**, H. Symonds.

" " " **DORE**, Norris Sale, July, 1868, Lot 207.

" " " **DORI.**

* **OTER ON DORECES.**

" " " " variety: cross on left of king's neck. H. Symonds.

* " " " **DORELEST**, variety; two pellets on right of, and cross on left of king's neck.

" " " **DORELESTI**, variety; † on left of king's neck. Mrs. Mary Willett.

Illustrated, vol. ii, Plate III, Fig. 47.

Type VII :—

* **OTER ON DORLESTR**, H. Symonds.

Type VIII :—

* **LIFINE ON DORECE**, Allen Sale, Lot 306.

* **LIERIE ON DOREE**, Beaworth, 1.

* **LIFRIE ON DORECES**, Beaworth, 3. Plate X, Fig. 6.

† * **OTER ON DORLEST**, Beaworth, 12. † Plate X, Fig. 7.

* " " " **DORLETR**, Beaworth, 6.

† * " " " **DORELEST**, Beaworth, 3. † Plate X, Fig. 8.

WILLIAM II.

Type 1 :—

No example hitherto noted.

Type 2 :—

* * **IELFGIET ON DORE**, Tamworth Find. Plate X, Fig. 9." " " **DORI**, Tamworth Find.-----? " **DOREI**, Tamworth Find.

Type 3 :—

* **IELFGIET ONDORCI**, the late Sir John Evans.

Type 4 :—

No example hitherto noted.

Type 5 :—

* **OTER ON DORISTR.**SHAFTESBURY :—*D.B. Sceptesberie.*

Is an ancient borough bearing the alternative name Shaston, situate in the hundred of Monckton-up-Wimborne. It is on the great western road from London to Exeter, at a distance of 101 miles from the former. In 1831 the inhabitants numbered 2,903, but they now number only 2,027.

The Laws of Æthelstan allowed two moneyers to this place, and coins struck there in his reign are preserved to this day. This mint name does not again occur until the reign of Eadgar. Eadward the Martyr is unrepresented, but coins struck here of all his successors prior to the Conquest are in existence.

The account of the borough is placed at the commencement of the survey of Dorset, but fourth, and last, on the list at the head.

The following is a translation of it :—

"In the borough of Shaftesbury there were one hundred and five houses. This town was answerable for all service of the king and paid geld for twenty hides, that is to say, two marks of silver to the use of the household servants of the king. There were there three moneyers, who each rendered one mark of silver and twenty shillings when the money was changed. Now there are there sixty-six houses, and thirty-eight houses have been destroyed from the time of Hugh the Sheriff until now.

"In the Abbess's portion, there were in the time of King Edward 153 houses. Now there are there 111 houses, and 42 are utterly destroyed.

"There the Abbess has 151 burgesses, and twenty vacant houses and one garden. It is worth sixty-five shillings."

It will be noted that the number of moneyers had been increased to three in the time of Edward the Confessor.

The first four types of William I. are at present missing, as also are types one and three of his successor. It is, however, probable that these two latter, at any rate, will yet be found.

WILLIAM I.

Types I, II, III, and IV:—

No examples hitherto noted.

Type V:—

- * ✠ **IELNOÐ ON SHIEFI.** Plate X, Fig. 10.
- * ✠ **ALNOÐ ON SÆTI,** Cuff, Lot 672.
- ” ” ” **SÆFTI,** H. Symonds.

Type VI:—

- * ✠ **ALNOÐ ON SIEFTSI,** H. Symonds.
- * ✠ **GODSBRAND ON SÆF,** Beaworth Find.
- † ✠ **GODSBRAND ON SÆI.** Plate X, Fig. 11.

Type VII:—

- * ✠ **IELNOÐ ON SCIEFTI.**
- * ” ” ” **SCIFITI.** Plate X, Fig. 12.
- * ✠ **GODSBRAND ON SÆ.**
- ” ” ” **SÆF,** A collector, July, 1860, Lot 242.
- † ” **GODSBRAND ON SÆ.** Plate X, Fig. 13.

Type VIII:—

- * ✠ **IELNOÐ ON SCIEF,** Beaworth, 15.
- † * ” ” ” **SCIEFT,** Beaworth, 15. Plate X, Fig. 15.
- * ” ” ” **SIECF,** Beaworth, 5.
- * ” ” ” **SCIEL,** Beaworth, 2.
- ” ” ” **SCIECF.**
- * ✠ **ALNOÐ ON SCIEF,** Beaworth, 3.
- * ” ” ” **SCIEFT,** Beaworth, 3.
- † * ✠ **IELNOÐ O SCIEFTI,** Beaworth, 5. Plate X, Fig. 14.
- * ✠ **GODESBRAND ON SÆ,** Beaworth, 2.
- ” ” ” **SÆI.** Allen, Lot 332.
- * ” ” ” **SÆF,** Beaworth, 5.
- ” **GODESBRAND ON SÆ,** H. Symonds.
- * ✠ **GODSBRAND ON SÆF,** Beaworth, 1.
- † * ✠ **GODSBRAND ON SÆ.** Plate X, Fig. 16.
- * ” ” ” **SÆF,** Beaworth, 1.

WILLIAM II.

Type 1 :—

No example hitherto noted.

Type 2 :—

* ✱ **PVLFGIED ONSCE**, Tamworth Find. Plate X, Fig. 17.

Type 3 :—

No example hitherto noted.

Type 4 :—

† ✱ **ÆSELPORD ON SCE**. Plate X, Fig. 18.* ✱ **BALDPINE ON SEF**. Plate X, Fig. 19.✱ **PVLFGID ON SLEF**, H. C. Miller.

Type 5 :—

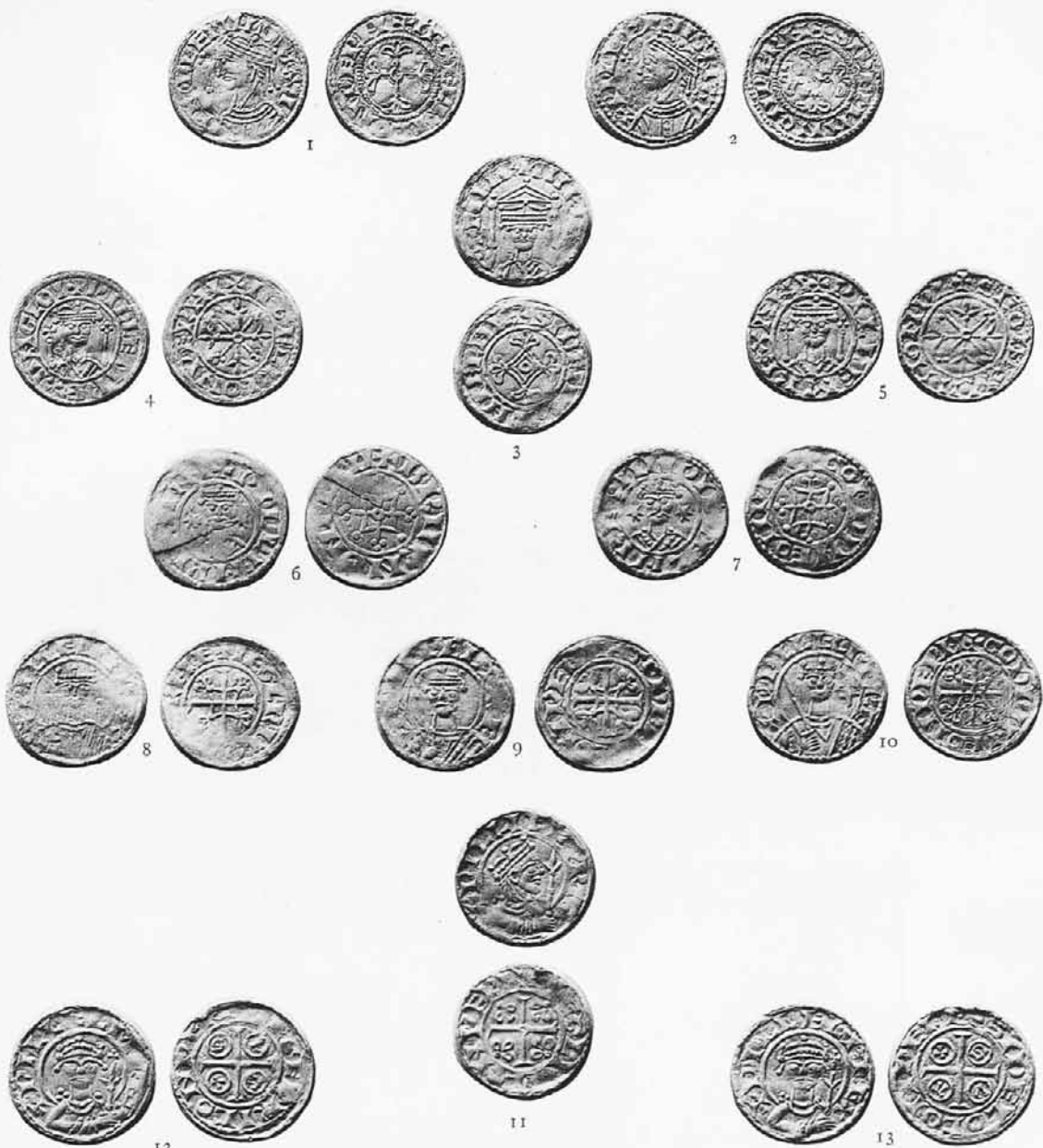
† ✱ **OSMVND ON SCE**. Plate X, Fig. 20.

NOTE.—This coin is pierced through the last letter of the name of the mint, but sufficient of that letter remains to render it probable that it is an E or an F, though it may possibly be an R. In the latter event the attribution of the coin would have to be transferred to Shrewsbury.

WAREHAM :—*D.B. Warham.*

This ancient borough has a history extending to British and Roman times, and was of considerable importance under the Saxons. It is situate in the hundred of Winfrith, 17 miles from Dorchester and 119 from London. In 1831 it possessed 1,931 inhabitants, and it now has just over 2,000. The town is on high ground between the mouths of the rivers Frome and Piddle. In form it is a parallelogram containing about 100 acres, and has on all sides, except the south, a high rampart of earth. The southern side is sufficiently protected by the river and marsh-land. At the south-western corner there is a considerable mound, locally known as the Castle, but the "Castellum de Warham" of Domesday, fo. 78b, is now generally identified with Corfe Castle.

The Laws of Æthelstan specify Wareham as entitled to two moneyers, a number still unvaried in the time of Edward the Confessor.



THE WAREHAM MINT.
WILLIAM I. FIGURES 1 to 13.



THE DURHAM MINT.
WILLIAM I. FIGURES 14 & 15.

As regards coins now existing, we first find this mint-name under Æthelstan. It occurs again under Eadgar, Æthelræd II., Cnut, Harthacnut, Edward the Confessor and Harold II.

The entry in Domesday as to this borough is placed third, at the head of the survey of Dorset. The following is a translation of it:—

"In Wareham in the time of King Edward there were 143 houses in the demesne of the king. This town was answerable to all service of the king, and it paid geld for ten hides, that is to say, one mark of silver to the use of the king's household servants, there being excepted [from this commutation], the customs which pertain to the *firma unius noctis*. There were there two moneyers, who each rendered one mark of silver to the king and twenty shillings when the money was changed. Now there are there 70 houses, and 73 have been totally destroyed from the time of Hugh the Sheriff. In the portion of Saint Wandregisilus (St. Vandrille), there are there 45 houses standing, and 17 are waste. In the portions of the other barons there are there 20 houses standing, and 60 are destroyed."

Of the types of William I. struck at Wareham all, except type II, are in evidence, but of William II. only one specimen, and that of type 4, has hitherto been noted.

WILLIAM I.

Type I:—

† * **IEGELRIC ON PERH**, from Allen, Lot 345, and L. A. Lawrence. Lot 31. Plate XI, Fig. 1.

* " " " **PERHA**.

* * **SIDEMAN ON PERH**. Plate XI, Fig. 2.

Type II:—

No example hitherto noted.

Type III:—

* **LIFVINE ON PERE**.

* * **SIDEMAN ON PERHA**, St. Mary Hill Church Find. Plate XI, Fig. 3.

" " " **PERHI**, Liverpool Museum.

Type IV:—

† * **IEGELRIC ON PERHI**. Plate XI, Fig. 4.

* **IEGHLRIC ON PE[RHA]M**, H. Symonds.

† * **SEOIF-MAN ON PE**, from L. A. Lawrence. Lot 52.

Illustrated, vol. ii, Plate II, Fig. 29, and Plate XI, Fig. 5.

Type V:—

- * **BRVN ON PERII**, Lieut.-Col. H. W. Morrieson, from
W. J. Davis Sale, 13.3.1901; Lot 460. Plate XI, Fig. 6.
* **GODPINE ON PER.** Plate XI, Fig. 7.

Type VI:—

- * **IEGELRIC ON PERHE.**
* **IEGLRIC ON PERHE**, Beaworth Find, variety; pellet to
the left of the king's face. Plate
XI, Fig. 8.
* " " " **PERHEI**, Beaworth Find.
" " " **PERHE**, variety; pellet to the left of the
king's face. H. Symonds.
Illustrated, vol. ii, Plate III, Fig. 46.
† * **GODPINE ON PERH.** Plate XI, Fig. 9.
" " " " variety; cross to the left of the
king's face.

Illustrated, vol. ii, Plate III, Fig. 48, and Plate XI, Fig. 10.

Type VII:—

- † * **IEGELRIC ON PERH**, found at Dorchester, from L. A.
Lawrence. Lot 63. Plate XI, Fig. 11.
* **GODPINE ON PERH.**

Type VIII:—

- * * **IEGELRIC ON PER**, Beaworth, 3.
† * " " " **PERE**, Beaworth, 7. Plate XI, 12.
* " " " **PEREI**,
* " " " **PRE**, Beaworth, 1.
* * **IEGLRIC ON PERE**, Beaworth, 2.
* * **IELRIC ON PERHE**, Beaworth, 1.
* **BERN ON PERHM**, H. Symonds.
* * **GODPINE ON PERE**, Beaworth, 2.
" " " **PERI**, Beaworth, 1.
† * * **SIDELOC ON PERE**, Beaworth, 19. Plate XI, Fig. 13.
† * " " " **PERHE** } Beaworth, 10.
" " " **PERE** }

WILLIAM II.

Types 1, 2 and 3:—

No examples hitherto noted.

Type 4:—

- * **GODPINE ON PER.**

Type 5:—

No example hitherto noted

DURHAM.

DURHAM :—Saxon name, *Dunholm*.

This city is the capital of the episcopal county palatine of Durham. It is situate on a rocky hill partially surrounded by the river Wear, and so derives its name from *Dun*, a hill and *holm*, water. The Normans rendered the name *Duresme*, the form from which Durham is immediately derived.

The place owes its importance to the translation hither of the remains of St. Cuthberht, and the removal to it of the see from Chester-le-Street under Bishop Ealdhun in A.D. 995.

Mr. Andrew has argued upon the authority of a thirteenth century record, that the mint existed before the Conquest and that a coin of Æthelræd II., reading + EADSI M-O DVNII, Hildebrand's *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, 1881, p. 51, No. 440, and another of Cnut, reading + LEOFRIC M DVM, *op. cit.*, p. 215, No. 361, should be attributed to *Dunholm* rather than to Dunwich,¹ but we do not think that the arguments adduced are sufficiently cogent to preclude the likelihood of the earlier attribution of these coins to Dunwich being correct. The reading DVM of Cnut's coin does not appear to us to indicate Dunholm, whereas it may well stand for an abbreviation of *Domoc*, which was an alternative rendering of *Dunewic* in Saxon times.

Domesday is, unfortunately, silent as to Durham, and our earliest written numismatic authority is, in the case of this city, "Boldon Book," from which is made the following extract :—

"In the eleven hundred and eighty-third year of our Lord's Incarnation, at the feast of St. Cuthbert in Lent, Lord Hugh, Bishop of Durham, caused to be described in the presence of himself and his court, all the returns of his whole bishopric, assizes and customs, as they were and as they had been aforetime.

"But the city of Dunolm' was at farm and rendering 60 marks. The mills of the aforesaid town and of Quarringtonshire 36 marks. The mint used to render 10 marks, but the Lord King Henry the Second reduced the rent of 10 marks, even to 4 marks, by reason of the mint which he first appointed at Newcastle, and at length he took away the mint, which had been held from times long previous."

¹ *A Numismatic History of Henry I.*, p. 181.

This account shows that at some time prior to 1183, Henry II. had closed the mint of Durham, and that the same had been used from "times long previous" to that date.

To revert to the period mainly under consideration—the reigns of William I. and II.—we find ourselves in accord with Mr. Andrew's conclusion that it was only after the date, A.D. 1082, of the Conqueror's great charter to Durham, that a bishop could have the right and opportunity of coining at Durham, and that therefore the date of the coins of the **PAXS** type (type VIII) "must be between 1082 and 1087" (*op. cit.*, p. 183).

The episcopal character of the coins then issued by William, Bishop of Durham, is indicated by the presence of a large pellet placed to the right of the king's face, a mark intended to difference or distinguish them from the regal issue.

No coins struck at Durham during the reign of William II. are known to us. Bishop William joined in Odo's rebellion against Rufus and was not restored to his bishopric until the 3rd of September, 1091. Freeman writes, "He was restored by the king, not only to his formal favour, but to a high place in his innermost counsels."¹

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* informs us that William, Bishop of Durham, died there on New Year's day, 1096. It is therefore possible that types 2 and 3 of William II., struck at Durham, may yet be forthcoming. From the death of Bishop William, Rufus retained the revenues of the see in his own hands for three years, viz., until the appointment of Ranulf Flambard, at Pentecost in 1099. As his consecration was on June the 5th, 1099, and the death of the king occurred on August 2nd, 1100, little more than a year is allowed for the possible issue of type 5 at Durham.

WILLIAM I.

Type VIII:—

- | | | | |
|---|---|-----------------------|--|
| * | ✠ | LVTEBRHT ONDVE | Beaworth, 4. Plate XI, Fig. 14. |
| " | " | " | Lieut.-Col. H. W. Morrieson, from Durlacher Sale, Lot 8. |
| † | " | " | from Rashleigh, Lot 345. Plate XI, Fig. 15. |

¹ *The Reign of William Rufus*, vol. i, p. 300.



THE COLCHESTER MINT.

WILLIAM I. FIGURES 1 TO 9.
WILLIAM II. FIGURES 10 TO 13.



LONDON STEREOGRAPHIC CO.

THE MALDON MINT.

WILLIAM I. FIGURES 14 TO 16.
WILLIAM II. FIGURES 17 TO 19.

ESSEX :—*D.B. Exsessa.*

COLCHESTER :—*D.B. Colecestra.*

This ancient borough, in Domesday termed a "hundret," or hundred, and there also as in a charter of Richard I., a "city," is situate within the present hundred of Lexden, 51 miles north-east-by-east from London, and in 1831 had a population of about 14,000. To-day the number is returned at 38,351.

Under the Romans the place had the status of a *Colonia*, but the present appellation is derived from the name of the river, the Colne, upon which it is situate. The Saxon name was *Colne-ceaster*, of which Colchester is the direct derivative. The town is built on the summit of an eminence rising gently from the river Colne, and occupies a quadrilateral area enclosed by the Roman walls. It is mainly due to the interest and care bestowed upon his native place by that able antiquary, Mr. Henry Laver, F.S.A., that Colchester can now boast of the preservation of so many fine sections of its ancient walls; and to the same gentleman is largely attributable both the success of the Museum, and the collection of many of the local antiquities safely lodged therein, within the walls of the Norman castle.

Colchester has a numismatic history unsurpassed by that of any other British mint. As a city of the ancient Britons it was known as *Caer Colun*, and another name for it was *Camulodunum*. The latter name is in evidence to-day on numerous coins of gold, silver, and bronze of the British king Cunobelinus, the Cymbeline of Shakespeare, which date back to the time of Christ's birth, or, at any rate, to early in the first century of our era.

Many coins were also issued here under the Roman Emperors in Britain, those of Carausius and of Allectus being distinguished in the exergue of the reverse by the initial letter c.

Under annal 921, during the Danish wars, the *Saxon Chronicle* narrates that a great body of people assembled in autumn, as well from Kent as from Surrey and from Essex, and everywhere from the nearest burghs, and went to Colchester, and beset the burgh, and

fought against it until they reduced it, and slew all the people, and took all that was there within, except the men who fled away over the wall. Then again, in the same year, before Martinmas (November 11th), King Eadweard, with an army of West Saxons, went to Colchester, and repaired and renovated the burgh, where it had previously been ruined. It is, therefore, not unlikely that coins of Eadweard the Elder were struck at Colchester, but it is the exception rather than the rule for the money of that king to bear any indication of the mint name, and information can only be deduced by an examination and comparison of the names of the moneyers.

Under the Laws of Æthelstan three moneyers were accorded to Colchester, two for the king and one for the bishop (presumably, of London), but, unfortunately, no specimen of his coinage has yet been noted, nor does the name of this mint appear upon our existing coins until the reign of the second Æthelræd. The series is thence unbroken until the time of the Conquest, except that no coin of Harthacnut struck here has yet come to light.

In Domesday the account of *Colecestra* is placed at the end of the survey of Essex, and constitutes a veritable directory. The individual names of the burgesses are specified, and nearly all of these have an Anglian or Saxon form. The names of all the moneyers which appear on the coins of the two Williams struck here, occur in this ample list. We append the names in parallel columns as they respectively are written in our numismatic and Domesday evidences.

Upon the coins.	In Domesday.
IELFRIC = Ælfric.	Alvric, Alric.
IELFSI = Ælfsi.	Alfsi, Alsí.
BRIHTRIC	Brictric.
DIRMAN	Dereman.
DORMAN	
DRIMAN	
DRMAN	

Upon the coins.	In Domesday.
GOLDMAN	Golman.
GOLDSTAN	Golstan.
GOLDPINE	Goldwin'.
SIPORD	Siward.
SPIGEN }	Suain, Sueno.
SIPIGEN }	
PVLFRIL	Ulvric.
PVLFPINE	Ulwin'.
PVLFPOD	Ulwart.

The commoner names occur many times, and relate to various persons, but Dereman, Golman, Golstan and Goldwin occur once only in our Domesday "directory" of Colchester, and the probability of their representing the moneyers of those names is strong, and the identity of some one person of each commoner name, with the moneyer of a similar name preserved upon our numismatic evidences, is not an unreasonable assumption.

The following translation of a portion of the Domesday account of Colchester may prove to be of interest :—

"The King's demesne in Colchester (consists of) 102 acres of land, of which 10 are of meadow, on which are 10 bordars; and 240 acres of pasture and scrub; and all this belongs to the king's ferm.

"In the burgesses' common are 80 acres and 8 perches about the wall, from all which the burgesses have 60 shillings a year, for the king's service if there should be need, and if not, they divide it in common.

"And there is a custom that every year, on the fifteenth day after Easter, the king's burgesses render 2 marks of silver; and this belongs to the king's ferm. Moreover from each house (are due) yearly 6 pence, which can be devoted to the support of the king's soldiers, or to war service by land or sea; and this does not belong to the (king's) ferm. And let this be so whether the king has soldiers or calls for war service. And in addition to these (dues of) 6 pence, the whole city used to render from all dues in King Edward's time 15 pounds and 5 shillings and 3 pence each year, *of which the moneyers used to render 4 pounds in King Edward's time.* It now renders

80 pounds and 4 sestiers of honey or 40 shillings [and] 4 [pence?]; and, besides this, 100 shillings to the sheriff for fine; and 10 shillings and 8 pence for feeding the prebendaries. *And besides this the burgesses of Colchester and of Maldon render 20 pounds for the mint;* and Waleram arranged this; and they vouch the king to warranty that he remitted to them 10 pounds, and the holder (?) Bishop Walchelin demands from them 40 pounds."

The conjoint mention of the burgesses of Colchester and of Maldon, with regard to the mint is of much interest. The entry establishes the point that at the date of Domesday, the mints of Colchester and Maldon were farmed to the burgesses.

The coins of William I. and II. struck at Colchester and Maldon entirely refute Mr. Andrew's assumptions in regard to the coinage issuing from them being of an alternate character, namely, that "if only one mint was in operation during the year the king remitted £10, but if both, then each town paid £10, and so £20 was retained in the Survey as the nominal *firma* from the burgesses."¹ He adds: "This is borne out by the coins we have of these two mints issued during the reigns of William I.-II., for the types of Maldon fill up most of the blanks of Colchester." The actual state of the case is that *all*, except type IV, of the issues of William I. at *Colchester* are to-day known to us, as are *all* the types of William II. struck there.

Of the Maldon mint we have the mule VII-VIII and type VIII of William I. and types 1, 2 and 4 of William II. Types 3 and 5 are always uncommon, but they may yet be found of Maldon.

It would seem, therefore, that the arrangement made by Waleram possibly had to do with the re-opening of the mint at Maldon, and that this was effected not long before the compilation of Domesday.

What Bishop Walkelin's position in the matter was is uncertain. He was Bishop of Winchester from 1070-1098, and, under Rufus, was, with Flamard, joint regent of the kingdom when the king went to the French war in 1097.

We may be pardoned for here remarking upon how very slender a thread some of our numismatic facts do hang. The knowledge of the existence of types III and VII of Colchester is due to the

¹ *A Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I.*, p. 162.

preservation by that observant and thoughtful numismatologist, Mr. L. A. Lawrence, of fragments that many would have thrust aside. He, however, preserved them, and very kindly presented them to the writer of these lines.

WILLIAM I.

Type I :—

* **BRIH[TRI]E ON IOLE[]**, Lieut.-Col. H. W. Morrieson, from Pollexfen, 1900, Lot 51.

† * **GOLDMAN ON IO**, Plate XII, Fig. 1.

* **GOLDSTAN ON IOL**, Plate XII, Fig. 2.

Type II :—

* **GOLDMAN ON IOLE**.

* **GOLDSTAN ON IOLE**, York Museum; Cuff, Lot 662; A gentleman, January, 1860, Lot 112; Allen, Lot 306.

Type III :—

† * **[PVLFPIN]E ON IOLE**, presented by L. A. Lawrence, Plate XII, Fig. 3.

Type IV :—

No specimen hitherto noted.

Type V :—

* **DRIMAN ON IOLI**, Plate XII, Fig. 4.

* **GOLDPINE ON IOL**.

* **PVLFPINE ON IOLI**, from L. A. Lawrence, Lot 55, Plate XII, Fig. 5.

Type VI :—

* **DORMAN ON IOLE**, Lieut.-Col. H. W. Morrieson, from Lowsley, 1899, Lot 193.

Type VII :—

† [*] **PVLFPD ON IO[- -]**, presented by L. A. Lawrence, Plate XII, Fig. 6.

Type VIII :—

† * **IELFSI ON IOLE**, Beaworth, 22, †Plate XII, Fig. 7.

* **DIRMAN ON IOLE**, Beaworth, 1.

* **DRMAN ON IOLE**, Beaworth, 7, Plate XII, Fig. 8.

* **PVLFRIC ON IOE**, Beaworth, 11.

" " " **IOLE**, Beaworth, 39.

† * **PVLFPINE ON IOLE**, Beaworth, 15, Plate XII, Fig. 9.

" " " **IOLI**,

" " " **IOIE**, Beaworth, 1.

WILLIAM II.

Type 1 :—

* * **PVLFPIC ON COLEC**, Tamworth Find, Plate XII, Fig. 10.

Type 2 :—

* * **IELFRIC ON COLEC**.* * **ILFSI ON COLECES**, Plate XII, Fig. 11.* **S - - - - ON COLEI**, Lieut.-Col. H. W. Morrieson, from Pollexfen Sale, 1900, Lot 54.

Type 3 :—

* **IELF[RIC] ON COLE**, Reginald Huth, from Allen Sale, Lot 305.* * **SIPORD ON COLEC**.

Type 4 :—

† * * **SPIGEN ON COLEI** another, H. B. Earle Fox, †Plate XII, Fig. 12.

Type 5 :—

* * **SIPIGEN ONOLI**, Plate XII, Fig. 13.MALDON : *D.B. Malduna, Melduna.*

The borough of Maldon is situate in the hundred of Dengy, 38 miles east-north-east from London. It stands upon high ground near the confluence of the rivers Blackwâter and Chelmer. In 1831 it had a population of nearly 1,400 inhabitants, and the number is now 5,564.

The *Saxon Chronicle* informs us that in the year 920, before midsummer, King Edward went to Maldon, and built and established the burgh ere he went thence. In the following year Maldon withstood a siege by the Danes.

This mint is not specifically mentioned in the Laws of Æthelstan, and it therefore had only one moneyer. A coin of his in the National Museum at Rome reads, according to Signor de Rossi, **MAELD ABONEL**. Although it is unusual for the name of the mint to precede that of the moneyer, there can be little doubt but that Maldon is here indicated. Abbonel occurs as a moneyer on the Memorial Coinage of St. Eadmund, and under Æthelstan a moneyer of the name, Abonel, coined at Hertford. Abenel was a moneyer of Ælfred, and the name so spelt occurs again under Eadmund and Eadwig.

The name of this mint does not, however, occur again on our coins until the reign of Eadgar. No specimen of this town's coinage under Eadweard the Martyr has been noted, but Maldon coins of Æthelræd II., Cnut, Harold I., Edward the Confessor and Harold II. are known.

In Domesday is the following account of this place, under "Terra Regis" :—

"Half Hundret of Maldon :

"In Maldon the king has one house and pasture for 100 sheep. And (there is) 1 sokeman with 49 acres, who has one bordar; (there was land for) 1 plough in the time of King Edward, now a half; it was then worth ten shillings, now 5. In the same the king has 180 houses held by burgesses, and 18 messuages that are waste; of which (burgesses) 15 hold half a hide and 21 acres, while the other men hold no more than their houses in the borough. And among them they have 12 rounceys, and 140 beasts, and 103 swine, and 336 sheep. From the king's hall there are always received 6 shillings and 8 pence, and from Suen's land 4 shillings, and from 2 houses of Eudo dapifer 16 pence, which the king has not received since he came into this land. From the aforesaid sokeman, Ranulf Peverel has received yearly a customary due of 3 shillings; but in King Edward's time his predecessor had only 'commendation.' And in King Edward's time the whole, together, rendered 13 pounds and 2 shillings; and when Peter received it 24 pounds, now 16 pounds by weight."

No mention is made of the mint, but in our account of Colchester, the reference to the fact that the burgesses of Colchester and of Maldon rendered twenty pounds for the mint, has already been noted. Domesday adds that Waleram arranged this. John the son of Waleram and John the nephew of Waleram are mentioned as tenants-in-chief in the Essex survey, so it is assumed that Waleram himself was then dead. He probably arranged for the re-opening of the mint at Maldon, as no coin struck here of William I. earlier than the mule VII-VIII is known to us. Coinage was continued here under William II., and although types 3 and 5 are absent, there is, in our opinion, no reason why they should not yet be forthcoming.

WILLIAM I.

Types I to VII:—

No examples hitherto noted.

Mule, *Obverse*, Type VII, *Reverse*, Type VIII:—* ✠ **LIFSVN ON MIEL**, Plate XII, Fig. 14." " " " Lieut.-Col. H. W. Morrieson, from
Pollexfen, 26.6.1900, Lot 53.* " " " **MAL**, Beaworth Find." " " " Allen, Lot 322 (Plate II of the
catalogue).

Type VIII:—

* ✠ **IELFPINE ON MIE**, Beaworth, 3, Plate XII, Fig. 15.† * " " " **MAL**.
✠ * ✠ **IELFORD ON MIEL**, Beaworth, 2, *Plate XII, Fig. 16.* ✠ **LIFSVN ON MIEL**, Beaworth, 5.

WILLIAM II.

Type 1:—

* ✠ **LIFSVNE ON MIELI**, Tamworth Find, Plate XII, Fig. 17.

Type 2:—

* ✠ **PVLFPINE ON MLD**, Allen, Lot 323 (2).† * ✠ **PVLFPINE ONMLD**.

† Illustrated, vol. ii, Plate IV, Fig. 69, and Plate XII, Fig. 18.

Type 3:—

No example hitherto noted.

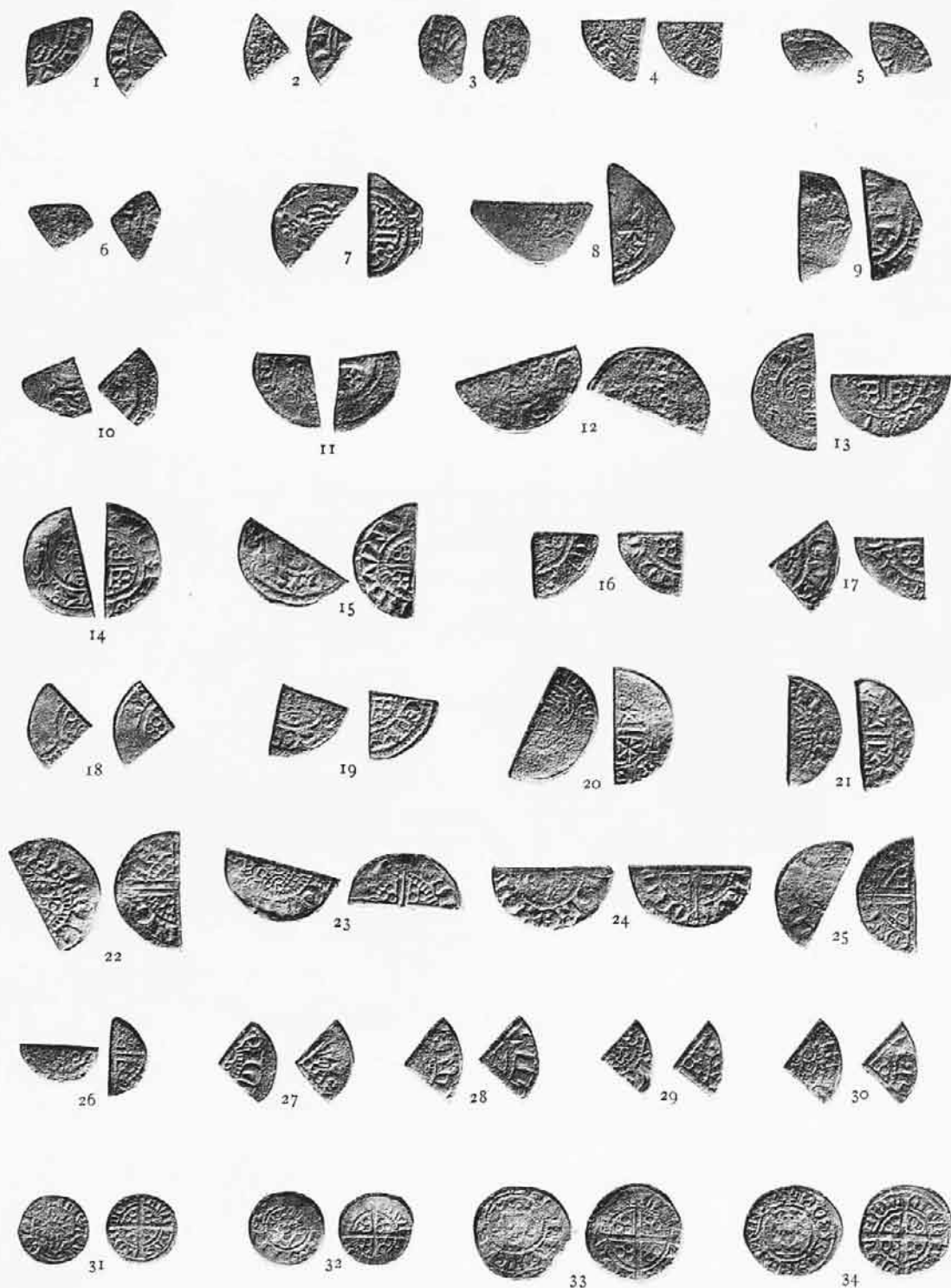
Type 4:—

† * ✠ **IELFPORD ONMLD**, Plate XII, Fig. 19.

Type 5:—

No example hitherto noted.

FLINTSHIRE—see CHESHIRE—RHUDDLAN, vol. iv, pp. 66–68.



LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO.

COINS FOUND AT DUNWICH.

FINDS OF MEDIÆVAL CUT HALFPENCE AND FARTHING AT DUNWICH.

BY EDWARD R. H. HANCOX.

BEYOND the ruins of a church on the very edge of the cliff and some fragmentary remains of monastic buildings, there is nothing to impress the visitor to modern Dunwich with a sense of its old time greatness. Though many of the accounts of the past glories of Dunwich are probably traditional, there is no doubt that it was at one time the Ecclesiastical centre of East Anglia, the great seaport, which struck "terror and feare" into the hearts of its enemies. For some 600 years before the Burgundian bishop Felix fixed his see there, the town flourished, and may well have been, if not, the Roman *Extensium* itself, a station established by the Romans, when the most easterly part of Britain—some seven miles to the north of Dunwich and generally supposed to have been the Roman *Extensium*—was threatened with destruction by the sea. When the Roman station disappeared and the town of Eastern Bavent, which succeeded it, was in turn slowly worn away, the southward current set in more strongly against the sand dune upon which Dunwich was built, at the southern extremity of the bay, and the ingenuity of its dwellers could devise no means to prevent their wealth and property being undermined by the ocean current and washed away by storm and tide.

Dunwich cliffs of to-day are absolutely of the most powdery nature, their face presents a serrated appearance, reminding one of a huge snowdrift. No wonder then, that the history of Dunwich is a long lamentable record of disaster. There was once a forest between

the town and the sea ; so the process of erosion had been going on for centuries before the inhabitants, assisted by Henry III., when they saw their town immediately threatened, built "a fence to check the inroads of the sea."

About the time of Henry II., Dunwich was at the height of its prosperity : it was then, as described by Gardner in his *History*, "a town of good note, abounding with much riches, and sundry kinds of merchandizes."

Under Richard I., the town was fined 1,060 marks, Orford 15, Ipswich 200, and Yarmouth 200, for unlawfully supplying the king's enemies with corn. These sums may afford some idea of the relative importance of those East Anglian towns at that time.

In the reign of Edward I., after the town had greatly declined, it was still a port of considerable note, possessing—to quote Gardner—"eleven ships of war, sixteen fair ships, twenty barks, and twenty-four small boats" ; the eleven ships of war being built and equipped by Dunwich men for the defence of the realm. Most of these ships and the lives of the brave men of Dunwich who manned them, were, however, lost during the war with France.

Overwhelming disasters occurred in the early years of the reign of Edward III., depriving the town by inroads of the sea of its fine harbour, and about 400 houses. The new port being established near Blythborough was alone a great blow to the prosperity of Dunwich. Later, we read of the churches of St. Leonard, St. Martin, and St. Nicholas being washed away, and in 1540 others shared the same fate, until not one quarter of the town was left standing. In 1677 the sea reached the Market Place, and the relentless waves claimed the whole of the remaining buildings during the succeeding fifty years.

Under certain conditions of tide and wind, many relics of by-gone Dunwich are picked up along the beach by those of its present inhabitants who are interested, or who have patience enough to search for them, and I believe these objects find ready purchasers in the visitors to the tiny hamlet of modern houses that is the Dunwich of to-day, for generally they are those who are attracted there by the romance surrounding the extinction of the ancient city.

Among these interesting relics, I have seen neolithic implements, Roman coins and bronze objects in great numbers, Saxon coins and enamel work, mediæval seals and, lastly, coins of, I believe, all periods down to the seventeenth century. But what I consider the most interesting of these finds, from a numismatic point of view, is a large number of *cut* halfpence and farthings evidently from one or more hoards. The largest collection of these, which I have examined, consists of about 250 pieces, brought together by the painstaking search of a gentleman who formerly lived at Dunwich. As these little objects turn up only at varying intervals, in small numbers, and are mostly quite black, the difficulty of separating them from the fine shingle and sand in which they are found will be appreciated.

So far as I can gather from those who regularly search for these pieces, the proportion of whole pennies to cut money is at the rate of one penny to four halves and five quarters, and they cover a period from William I. (Hawkins 237) to Henry III.

The coins, considering their contact with salt water, are wonderfully preserved; indeed, I think that until distributed on the surface, by periodical beach scour, they must be out of reach of the action of water and sand, and that only those which are not at once found are at all difficult to identify. I was able, with little trouble, to identify 225 of the collection under consideration, and notwithstanding the minuteness of many of the cut farthings, it was an easy matter to place them under their respective kings, and in many cases even to allocate them to their respective mints.

The number comprised, one quarter cut from a **PXX** penny of William I. Three halves and one quarter of William the Lion of Scotland. Two pennies, three halves and six quarters of Henry II.'s first issue. Four pennies, forty-three halves and forty-nine quarters of Henry II.—Henry III. "short cross" types. Three pennies, twenty-five halves, and fifty-three quarters of Henry III.'s "long cross" type. There were also ten pennies, six round halfpennies and fifteen round farthings of the first three Edwards and one round halfpenny of Richard II.

In addition to these, I have seen and had, perhaps, about 100 others,

and I have no doubt there are many more in the possession of residents of Dunwich and elsewhere.

When visiting Dunwich last winter I procured a few, among which were some very interesting specimens, viz., a quarter of William I. Hawkins 237, the earliest English coin I have noted in these finds. A cut farthing of Henry I. Hawkins 265, and a specimen of a cut halfpenny of Stephen, Hawkins 268.

Mr. Carlyon-Britton, as will be seen from the careful list of readings of the coins which he has appended to this paper, has been able to add two types to Henry I.; and two types to Stephen, one of which is amongst the rarest of the reign. All these are represented by farthings. He also deciphers other coins for which I must refer to his detailed list.

Most of the mints were London, Canterbury, Lincoln and Winchester. I need hardly say that I looked very carefully for a possible attribution to "Dunwich," but no reading upon any coin could be taken as such.

The extensive period of time represented by the coins—300 years—would seem to argue against their having been the property of a private individual, and as all the pieces I have seen previous to the reign of Henry II. are either halfpennies or farthings, I believe they formed part of the same hoard and that with the possible exception of the Edwardian "pieces," all the coins were from it. If such be the case, this hoard must be unique from the fact of its being composed of so great a proportion and variety of *cut* money.

Many of the quarters are exceedingly minute, cut down to the merest fragment, and weighing less than one-eighth of the penny, which is probably due to the fact that many of the pennies, especially of the long cross type, are much clipped.

I suggest that the hoard formed part of the treasure of one of the many monastic institutions of the ancient capital of East Anglia, possibly that of the Grey Friars, whose crumbling ruins are now at the edge of the cliff. The custom of small religious offerings, so familiar to us in the pathetic instance of the widow's two mites—or *stycas* as they were translated in some early English editions of the Bible, a

custom not yet quite obsolete, may well account for the peculiar and varied assortment I have described, in the treasure chest of a religious house.

Notwithstanding the fact that the historians of Dunwich agree that, in addition to its "fifty-two churches, chapels, religious houses and hospitals," it had a mint; it is fairly well established that it had not a post-Conquest mint, or at any rate there is no evidence that it had. If an Ecclesiastical mint existed its dies could not have borne the town-name, and the only coin ever shown to me as a specimen of the mint of Dunwich, proved to be of Durham.

I am indebted to your President, Mr. Carlyon-Britton, for the pleasure of submitting this notice of the hoard, which I have described as unique. I am, however, not versed in the literature on "finds," and it may be that it is not as I have described it.

LIST OF COINS FOUND AT DUNWICH.

WILLIAM I.

Type, Carlyon-Britton, IV, Hawkins, 237. [Plate, Fig. 1.]

Obverse.

Reverse.

—— **LEM** ——— **VNDE** Cut farthing. P. Carlyon-Britton.

Type, Carlyon-Britton, VIII; Hawkins, 241.

—— **LE** ——— **VLI** Cut farthing. [Plate, Fig. 2.]

HENRY I.

Type, Andrew, XI; Hawkins, IV. [Plate, Fig. 3.]

—— **VOR** Illegible. Cut farthing. P. Carlyon-Britton.

Type, A. XIII; Hawkins, 265. [Plate, Fig. 4.]

—— **VS R** ——— **IL:O** Cut farthing. "

Type, A. XV; Hawkins, 255. [Plate, Fig. 5.]

—— **RI** ——— **AN:O** Cut farthing. "

STEPHEN.

Type, Hawkins, 270. [Plate, Fig. 6.]

*Obverse.**Reverse.*

Illegible.

Illegible.

Cut farthing. P. Carlyon-Britton.

Type, Hawkins, 268. [Plate, Fig. 7.]

... IEFN

— RE

Cut halfpenny.

„

Type, Hawkins, XVIII.

Illegible.

Illegible.

Cut farthing.

„

HENRY II.

Type, Hawkins, 285.

*h

Illegible.

— hAN

Penny.

*h

Illegible.

* — EŌ:

„

Illegible.

Penny, fragment.

Illegible.

Cut halfpenny.

— π

— RE: O

[Plate, Fig. 8.]

Cut halfpenny.

*hE

— ON:

[Plate, Fig. 9.]

Cut farthing.

— EX

Illegible.

[Plate, Fig. 11.]

Cut farthing.

Illegible.

Illegible.

„ (4).

[Plate, Fig. 10.]

HENRY II.—III.

SHORT CROSS TYPES.

Class I.— RICVS •
Illegible.... πRD ON
Illegible.

Cut halfpenny.

„

*Class II.*HENRICVS REX
HENRICVS I • R —
— ICVS • •*... VL • ON • LVNDB
..... M • ON • ...
❖ SIM ——— VLπ

Penny.

„

Cut halfpenny.

[Plate, Fig. 12.]

— RICVS
HENRI*RIC ——— VN
— NE • ON

Cut halfpenny.

„

Obverse.

-- NRICVS R
R ————— X

Reverse.

————— ΠΝ • ΟΝ • — —
✱ ————— VΛΠ

Cut halfpenny.
Cut farthing.

Class III.

ÆNRICVS REX
RÆ ————— REX

✱ RIC — — — ΟΝ • ΛΥ
————— RES • ΟΝ •

Penny.¹
Cut halfpenny.
[Plate, Fig. 13.]
Cut halfpenny.

————— RICVS R
ÆNRIC
— NRICVS
————— REX
————— RICVS RÆ
ÆNRICV
ÆNRIC
ÆNRICV
————— VS RÆ

✱ RIC ————— Ν • ΛΥ
✱ ————— ΤΘ
✱ RAV ————— ΔΘ
✱ ————— ΟΝ WIND
✱ ————— Ν • ΛΥΝΔ
✱ ΙΘΕΑΝ
✱ RAN ————— ΝΘ
————— ΛΥΝΔΘ
✱ ————— Ν • ΛΥΝΔ

[Plate, Fig. 15.]
Cut halfpenny.
[Plate, Fig. 14.]
Cut halfpenny.

R ————— REX

✱ ΤΟΜΑΣ

ÆNR

————— ΛΥΚΑΣ

Class V.

ÆNRICVS REX
ÆNR
R ————— EX
— ENRICV

✱ ÆNRI ΟΝ ΔΑΝΤ
————— Ν ΟΝ ΔΑ
————— ΟΝ ΔΑΝ
✱ ΙΛΓΕΡ Θ

Penny.
Cut halfpenny.
"
"

SHORT-CROSS TYPES.

Unclassified.

————— VS
————— ΔVS
Illegible.
— — RICVS
R ————— S REX
— ENRICV

✱ ΔΤ
————— ΝΟΡ
————— Ν • ΝΟΡ
————— Ν • ΛΥΝ —
✱ RAVR • Θ
✱ ————— WINDΘ

Cut halfpenny.
"
"
"
"
"

¹ Double struck.

<i>Obverse.</i>	<i>Reverse.</i>	
- ENRICV	Illegible.	Cut halfpenny.
- NRICVS	- ROBER	" ¹
- RICV	- N • W	"
- ENR	- N • LV¹	"
Illegible.	Illegible.	" (3)
- RICV	- VND	Cut farthing.
- NR	- R • ON	"
- NRI	- NIC	"
- S RÆ	- BIT	"
- EX	- N • CÆ	[Plate, Fig. 19.]
- Æ	* - NDE	Cut farthing.
Illegible.	- ARD	"
- CVS	- RÆ	"
- RIC	* - VND	"
- X	- AN	"
- IDV	- CÆ	"
- S R	- ON • L	"
- NRI	Illegible.	"
- ENI	- PIN (?)	"
- ÆN	- ON	"
- CVS	- ON	"
Illegible.	- ON	[Plate, Fig. 16.]
- Æ	- N CÆ	Cut farthing.
- RIC	- N • T -	"
- VS R	- VL • Ø	"
- Æ	- ON • C	"
- EX	- WIND	"
Illegible.	* - LVN	" ¹
- Æ	- RÆH	"
- NRIC	* WÆ	"
- CVS	- IDØ	"
- NRI	* RØD	"
- Æ	* - NØR	"
- RÆ	* IOÆ	[Plate, Fig. 18.]
- VS R	- N • LV	Cut farthing.
- NRIC	- RÆ	"
- VS R	- ON • Ø	"

¹ Broken.

<i>Obverse.</i>	<i>Reverse.</i>	
Æ ————— ÆX	— WIT	Cut farthing.
————— DVS	* GOD	"
————— S R	— - æ	[Plate, Fig. 17.]
Æ ————— ÆX		Cut farthing.
Illegible.	Illegible.	"
		" (10)

WILLIAM THE LION: SCOTTISH.

† LIIWIER -- π: ¹	† RVEWITRI: O	Penny.
-- -- WIL	* -- WALTER	"
- LER --	— -- LIT	Cut halfpenny.
————— S R:	* RAVL	[Plate, Fig. 20.]
————— S RÆ	— ALTER	Cut halfpenny. ²
Illegible.	Illegible.	"
		[Plate, Fig. 21.]
		Cut halfpenny.

ALEXANDER III.

LONG-CROSS TYPE.

————— ANDER	RÆX	Cut halfpenny.
Illegible or broken.		" (3)

HENRY III.

LONG-CROSS TYPES.

Without Sceptre.

————— IDVS REX	ION ——— VDB	Cut halfpenny.
————— IDVS RÆ	— EM ON	[Plate, Fig. 23.]
————— RID - - - EX: II	BDIDIN	Cut halfpenny.
ÆMID ——— II	— N DRL'	"
*Æ ——— EX: III'	RID ——— VND	[Plate, Fig. 22.]
*ÆMID ——— I'	— I O DAN	"
ÆMIDVB	— SDBWAB	"
		"

¹ The legend to be read retrograde.

² Broken.

With Sceptre.

<i>Obverse.</i>	<i>Reverse.</i>	
Illegible.	ÆRI OM -	Penny.
Illegible.	NICOLE O LVND	"
ÆRICVS REX III'	RENAVD O LVND	"
Illegible.	WIL ——— ÆT	Cut halfpenny.
———— S REX III'	NICOLE	"
ÆRI	NID ——— VND	"
———— VS REX III	———— OLV VND	"
ÆI ——— III'	———— ON DÆR (?)	"
———— VS REX III	———— LEM ON L ¹	[Plate, Fig. 25.] Cut halfpenny.
ÆRI ——— III	———— ON LVND	[Plate, Fig. 24.] Cut halfpenny.

LONG-CROSS TYPES.

Unclassified.

- ERICVS	———— - ON LVN	Cut halfpenny.
Illegible.	———— LVN	"
———— RICVS RÆ	NID ——— VND	"
———— ICVS RÆ	TER ——— OHE	"
RÆ ——— III	Illegible.	"
Illegible.	———— O LVND	"
Illegible.	———— I ON	" ²
———— RID	———— OLB	[Plate, Fig. 26.] Cut halfpenny. ³
———— RICVS RÆ	———— LEM OLV	"
———— CUS REX	———— RN ———	"
Illegible.	Illegible.	" (7)
* RÆ	WIL	Cut farthing.
* RÆ ——— II'	———— OLV	"
— ERRI	———— LEM	"
* RÆ ——— : III'	— ÆT	"
———— RID	NID	"
———— ICV	———— MO	"
———— RID	———— OH	"
* ——— III'	ÆH	"
— RID	———— OLV	"
———— X : III	———— OLB	"

¹ Curious obverse.² Clipped.³ Broken.

Obverse.	Reverse.	
———— REX	———— OF L	Cut farthing.
- ERID	———— TBR	"
———— QVS R	- RBN	[Plate, Fig. 30.]
———— RID	RID	Cut farthing.
———— REX	———— RI O	"
———— QVS	———— T OH	"
———— IDVS	———— LVN	"
* ————— EX	———— VND	"
* R ————— III	———— TBR	"
———— VS R	- RER	"
- ERI	WIL	"
? — RID	———— NII	[Plate, Fig. 28.]
———— RID	- TVT	Cut farthing.
———— RIDV	———— OLB	"
- ERI	———— DA	[Plate, Fig. 27.]
R	Illegible.	Cut farthing.
———— REX	———— OF R	"
———— RIDV	———— OF L	"
———— RIDV	———— DA/T	"
———— EX II	Illegible.	"
- ER	IVN	"
———— RIDV	RID	"
———— X III	ALB	"
———— S R	- VID	"
———— EX . II	———— VND	"
———— RID	———— OH	"
———— VS R	———— ATB	"
R ————— II	———— NB	"
———— VS R	NID	"
———— RID	———— ODI	"
RER	———— I . OF	[Plate, Fig. 29.]
Illegible.	Illegible.	Cut farthing.
		" (4)

EDWARD I.

*EDWRANGLONS RYB
 *EDWRANGLONS RYB
 *EDWRANGLONS RYB

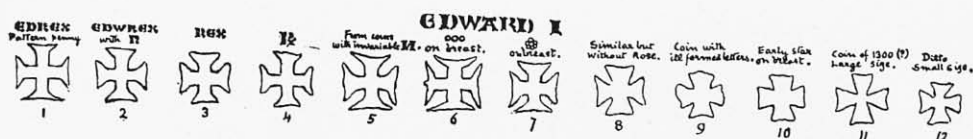
DIVITAS LONDON
 DIVITAS LONDON
 DIVITAS LONDON

Penny.

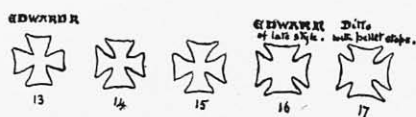
"

"

<i>Obverse.</i>	<i>Reverse.</i>	
*EDWRTH ——— RYB	DIVITAS --- DON	Penny, broken.
*EDWRANGLDHS RYB	DIVITAS LONDON	Penny.
*EDWRANGL DN --- B	Q --- TAS LONDON	Halfpenny, broken.
*ERANGLIE	DIVITAS LONDON	Farthing.
"	"	[Plate, Fig. 31.]
*ERANGLIE	"	Farthing, worn.
*ERANGLIE	DIVITAS LONDON	"
"	LONDONIENSIS	"
"	"	" worn.
"	"	Farthing, much worn.
"	"	Farthing, broken.
*EDWRANGL DNS RYB	DIVITAS CANTOR	Penny.
EDWRANGLDHS RYB	DIVITAS DUBLINIE	"
Q --- RDVS REX	VLLA	Halfpenny.
	EDWARD II.	
*EDWTRANGL DNS RYB	DIVITAS CANTOR	Penny.
*EDWTR T --- --- R	DIVI --- --- R	"
	EDWARD III.	
*EDWTRDVS:REX:ANGLIE	DIVIT --- --- OLW	"
* on breast		
N.B.—The upper limb of the cross terminates in a crozier head to the dexter.		
- EDWARDVS REX -	DIVITAS LONDON	Halfpenny.
		[Plate, Fig. 33.]
*EDWTRDVS REX -	DIVITAS LONDON	Farthing.
		[Plate, Fig. 32.]
	EDWARD (<i>uncertain</i>).	
EDW		Halfpenny, much worn.
*ED --- DVS --- ---	--- TAS --- DON	Halfpenny, worn.
*EDWTRDVS REX T	DIVITAS LONDON	Farthing.
?	DIVITAS --- ---	Farthing, much worn.
	RICHARD II.	
*RICHARD:REX:ANGL	DIVITAS LONDON	Halfpenny.
		[Plate, Fig. 34.]
	HENRY (<i>uncertain</i>).	
*HENRIC:R --- --- GL	--- --- --- RDN	Halfpenny, broken.
? Henry.		" worn.
	EDWARD IV (?)	
ED . N . B to dexter of King's face		Penny, much worn.
? Edward.		Halfpenny.

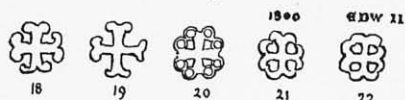


EDWARD II



EDWARD I and II

From episcopal coins of Bishop Beck.



EDWARD III



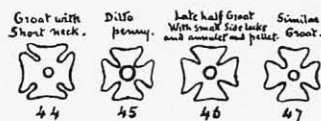
RICHARD II



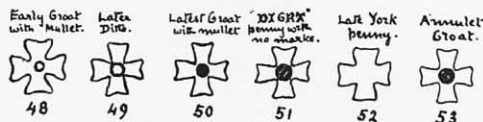
HENRY IV



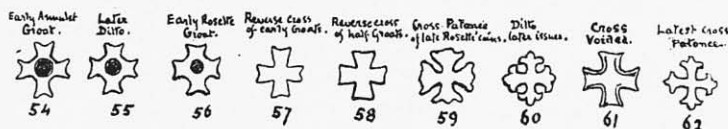
HENRY IV



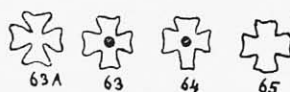
HENRY V



HENRY VI



HENRY VI RESTORED



EDWARD IV




Shirley Fox.

THE CROSS AS A MINT-MARK.

THE CROSS AS A MINT-MARK.

BY SHIRLEY FOX, R.B.A.

HE initial or mint-mark cross on English coins from the time of Edward I. to the close of the reign of Henry VI. is so varied in form, and in many cases presents such subtle development of shape and style, that I have been tempted to sketch a series of the principal varieties to be noted during that period. My attention was particularly drawn to the subject during recent studies that my brother and I have been devoting to the pence of the first three Edwards. A close scrutiny of the crosses found on these coins has been of considerable assistance to us in our efforts to arrange the issues in their proper order. The result of our work in this direction we hope to publish in the near future, meanwhile I may say that in the present paper I purpose, in dealing with the Edward pence, to take them in the order in which we hope, later on, to show that they were issued. I shall begin my series with the cross found on what I consider to be the first coinage issued by Edward I. This is the well known type of penny reading **EDW REX**.

In the accompanying plates, the frontispiece to this paper is a drawing of the crosses to a scale sufficiently enlarged for their observation without the need of a lens; and the numbers to them correspond with those of coins bearing them as illustrated on the two following plates of coins. For the loan of several of these I am indebted to Mr. F. A. Walters, F.S.A.

No. 1 on the drawing is taken from what is probably the earliest of these coins, the rare so-called "pattern penny" reading **ED REX ANGLIE**

DNS RIBN. In form the cross is most characteristic, and its exact counterpart is not to be found on any other English coin. The central limbs are very straight and even, the angles clean and well defined, and the extremities sharp and well formed.

No. 2, taken from a scarce variety of an **EDW REX** piece having English **R** in **ARGL** and **DNS**, is not unlike No. 1 in that its centre is sharp and well defined, but the ends are thicker and heavier. No. 3 is from the more common type of "**REX**" penny. It is somewhat smaller, and the projecting ends are even larger in proportion, but on careful scrutiny the rectangular formation of the central angles is still well-marked, although on a piece at all worn this may not be very apparent.

The next example, No. 4, comes from one of the coins having a bust similar to that last described, but without the full reading **REX**, this being curtailed to the one letter **R** which is, in most cases, barred across its lower limb, **R**_l. A very rare variety of this class has an annulet on the king's breast. The crosses on these coins have much in common with Nos. 2 and 3, but are larger and less compact. No. 5 is found on the plentiful class of pennies with somewhat larger lettering, a different bust and invariably the reversed **II**. It is apt to be less neat and regular in formation, and the extremities are inclined to become unduly prolonged. A further development of this style, in which the points of the central limbs often project beyond the cross pieces, is found in No. 6. It is taken from pennies having large and straggling letters and, usually, a pellet, or pellets, on the breast, or before the legend.

The class of penny having a rose on the king's breast provides No. 7, and shows a cross of similar formation but smaller and neater. This is in accord with the lettering and general style of these coins. So far, all the varieties noted have shown a more or less rectangular formation at the centre; in some cases better defined than in others, but never absent.

In No. 8 this characteristic will be seen to have disappeared. It more resembles the heraldic cross pattée, and is suggestive of four triangles united at a central point. The last example is found on

coins very similar to those bearing a rose on the king's breast, but without this mark.

No. 9 occurs on a rather scarce variety of Edward I. which has curiously ill-formed and broken-looking lettering. It is practically a plain cross with no special shape, and often as clumsily executed as the coins which bear it.

A cross, No. 10, much resembling this, but of more regular form, is also found on some of the larger sized varieties of pence which bear a star on the king's breast. On others the cross is distinctly pattée, as No. 11, while on the smaller sized pieces of this class attributable to A.D. 1300, we find a small and neatly made cross, No. 12, practically composed of four wedges united.

Considering the great abundance of the coins attributable to Edward II., it is remarkable how little variety is to be found in the mint-mark cross. That, viz. No. 13, on pieces presumably struck at the beginning of the reign, and reading **EDWARD'R**, scarcely differs from No. 12. On somewhat later issues the cross, although preserving the general character, is inclined to become less well formed and proportioned, one or more of the limbs being often too long as, for example, Nos. 14 and 15. Later still, the limbs of the cross are shorter in proportion to their length, No. 16, while No. 17, which is taken from a coin reading **EDWARD•R** with pellet stops, is altogether later in appearance. This class is probably the last issue of Edward II.

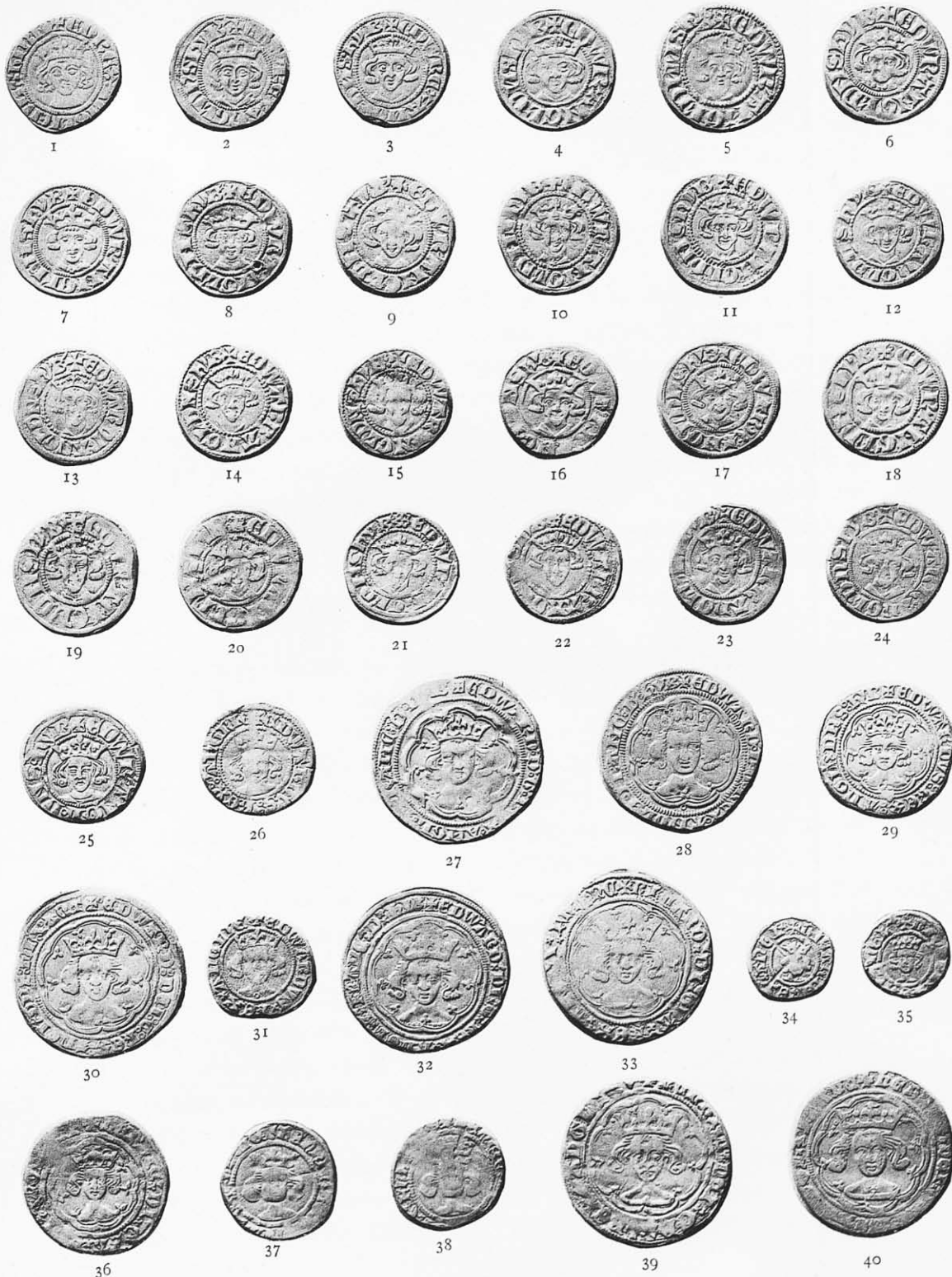
Before passing on to the reign of Edward III., a few words must be said of the cross moline used on the episcopal coinage of Antony Beck, Bishop of Durham, in whose arms it formed the principal charge. Three distinct forms are found, of which by far the most usual is that shown as No. 18. It more resembles a cross *recerclée* than a cross moline, the ends curling sharply inwards, but not so much as to quite touch each other. No. 19 is a variety only found on the rare class of penny which has a single pellet on the king's neck, with large and sprawling lettering. The cross itself accords perfectly with this latter characteristic, being very large and ill-formed, and the curved ends lumpy and mis-shapen.

No. 20 is very curious in that it would seem as if the engraver lacked the necessary punches for producing what he wished, and had to exercise his ingenuity by using those he possessed to obtain the best result he could. For a cross moline it is of distinctly original and eccentric design, and is made by the simple process of adding two annulets to each extremity of a small plain cross. Coins bearing this curious mark are, however, seldom met with. No. 21 is the design commonly found on the small pieces issued in 1300, while No. 22 shows that upon most of the coins of Edward II. It is to be noted that in both this and the previous example, the ends of the cross turn in so much that they frequently unite.

No. 23 is taken from a Canterbury coin with the English **ƿ** on both the obverse and reverse, pellet as stops on the obverse, and three smaller pellets among those in one quarter of the reverse. This piece is presumably the first issued by Edward III., and the cross it bears is most unusual. It consists of four more or less crescent-shaped limbs surrounding a central pellet. The York penny of the same issue also shows the central pellet, but the outer limbs are more triangular in shape, see No. 24, and the general effect is not unlike No. 25. The latter is taken from pence of the type struck at Reading, showing very florid lettering and often single annulets as stops on the obverse, which still retains the Irish title. The cross on these coins is quite different from any previously noted, the four limbs which form it being broader and shorter, and it is much later in style, and has generally a more florid appearance.

No. 26 is found on the scarce pence which bear double annulet stops in the obverse legend and read **EDWARDVS REX ANGLIE**. The general character of No. 25 is maintained, but there is more space between the limbs, which are not so broad in proportion and have their outer edges slightly concave.

No. 27 is from a groat of the 1351-60 period, and nearly all the earliest pieces of this issue bear the same mark. It has the appearance of having been made by the simple process of removing four leaf-shaped sections from a square. A later groat of this issue provides No. 28 which, it will be seen, differs somewhat from any yet noted.



LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO.

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE MINT-MARK CROSS ON ENGLISH SILVER COINS.

PL. I.

The coins issued whilst the treaty of Bretigny was in force, namely, from 1360 to 1369, bear a cross peculiar to themselves, which is shown as No. 29. Its special feature is that the outer edges of the limbs composing it are inclined to be convex. These often appear to be, more or less, detached from each other. No. 30 is another form noted during this period.

Coins of Edward III., issued subsequently to the rupture of the treaty, namely, from 1369 to 1377, do not show much variety in their form of mint-mark. That most often seen is No. 31. The exceptionally rare groats which have a chain of annulets below the bust have, in some cases, a small pellet at each corner of the cross, No. 32.

No. 33 is the cross found on most of the second Richard's coins, and is very graceful and pleasing in design. The ends are distinctly concave, and in general character it nearly approaches the Maltese. No. 34 is a more attenuated form which is sometimes seen, whilst No. 35 is taken from one of the rare groats attributable to his latest issue.

The heavy coinage of Henry IV. shows a rather thick-limbed cross pattée formed of somewhat curved lines, No. 36 being from a half groat, and No. 37 from a York penny. Another example of this piece, belonging to Mr. L. A. Lawrence, which was exhibited at a recent meeting of the Society, has a cross of very similar character, but displaying in its centre the incuse circle, so frequently found on the later issues of this monarch, No. 38. Some doubt has been expressed as to whether this curious mark really exists on the heavy coinage, but Mr. Lawrence's coin seems to be conclusive, and were it not that the coins of this class are so very rare, and mostly in poor condition, I think it quite possible that the sunk circle might be found on others.

No. 39 is from one of those puzzling groats, of which three or four specimens exist, which bear the name **HENRIC** stamped into the die over that of **RICARD**. These read **HENRIC** (over **RICARD**). **DEI GRÆ REX ANGLIÆ**, a reading unknown on any actual Richard groat. The cross will be seen to be quite Ricardian in character. An early type of the groat with the Roman **N** gives us No. 40, whilst No. 41 is from a similar piece of somewhat later style. Both are short in limb and quite

plain in design. No. 42, from the obverse of a still later groat of the same class, is very similar but smaller, while on the reverse it has a small but neatly shaped cross, No. 43, on which, again, is found the incuse circle. This mark is now found on practically all the subsequent coins of Henry IV. and on some of the earlier pieces of Henry V. The crosses which bear it are so varied in shape and yet so full of character, that it becomes almost impossible successfully to describe them in writing. Reference must, therefore, be made to the drawing, where may be noted the gradual process of evolution, whereby the early form of the cross with sunk circle on the groat with the Roman N of Henry IV. at last gives way to the pierced cross of Henry V.

No. 44 is from the rare groat bearing an unprepossessing portrait of the king with very short neck. No. 45 is from the penny with similar bust and an annulet and a pellet beside the crown. No. 46 is from the half groat of similar style, but with somewhat longer neck, the annulet or pellet being retained as on the penny last described. No. 47 is from a groat of similar character. Like that with the short neck, it bears no special marks attributable to Henry IV., but from its resemblance to the half-groat above mentioned, it probably belongs to the same issue. The penny resembling these is also known and has the same mint-mark.

No. 48 is from one of the groats, of somewhat uncertain attribution, which, although bearing a mullet on the left shoulder, otherwise resemble the latest of those assigned to Henry IV. I have seen a groat, apparently from the same die as this coin, but without the mullet, so it is possible that the mullet was a later insertion. No. 49 is from a mullet-marked groat which may be safely placed as an early issue of Henry V. It is of coarser workmanship, and the mint-mark cross, although retaining the incuse circle, approaches more closely the plain pierced cross of later coins. This latter is shown in No. 50. The ends of the cross become frankly "fish-tailed," and the sunk circle now disappears for ever. No. 51 is from a penny, immediately preceding the annulet coinage, which bears the legend **DI GRT**, and on it the piercing is so large that the limbs are practically disunited. The York pence of rough work and with mullet and trefoil or lis beside



41



42



43



44



45



46



47



48



49



50



51



52



53



54



55



56



57



58



59



60



61



62



63



64



65



65A



66



67



68



69



70

LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO.

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE MINT-MARK CROSS ON ENGLISH SILVER COINS.

PL. II.

the crown, have a very rectilinear and plain cross, devoid of piercing, No. 52.

The last to note in this reign, No. 53, is that of the annulet coinage. It has nearly right angles at the junction of the limbs, which are slightly forked at the extremities, while the piercing is large and extends almost to the angles. Later annulet coins show a well-marked change in form, the centre of the cross being slightly enlarged and the sharp angles at the intersection of the limbs giving way to a more rounded formation, No. 54.¹ This is very conspicuous on the extremely rare York groats. A feature in connection with the cross piercing on coins of these issues seems hitherto to have been generally overlooked. If closely examined on a fine specimen it will be seen to contain an annulet in relief closely following the outline of the hole, but upon a coin at all worn, or ill struck, this peculiarity easily escapes detection. It is not easy to render this formation on the drawing, and it must in no way be confused with the sunk circle or incuse annulet of Henry IV., from which it totally differs.

Mr. F. A. Walters, F.S.A., has suggested that the earliest coins of Henry VI. may be separated from those of his father by the shape of their mint-mark, but the process of evolution is so gradual that, although the extreme varieties are easily recognisable, it is impossible to make a practical distinction in the case of the intermediate examples.

No. 55 is from a later annulet groat and more nearly resembles the formation of No. 56, which is from a groat of the rosette coinage. The piercing now becomes smaller. Almost from the beginning of Henry VI.'s reign a plain cross, slightly nicked or forked at the ends, takes the place of the pierced cross on the half-groats, pence, and half-pence. A little later, as No. 57, it makes its appearance on the reverse of the groats.

On the reverse of half-groats is found No. 58, a neatly made, and compact little cross pattée. During the progress of the rosette-masle coinage a more ornamental form was introduced; this has often been described as a cross fleury, though, at any rate on the earliest

¹ Owing to an oversight No. 54 of the drawing is not figured in the plate of coins, where its place is taken by a second example of No. 53.

specimens, as No. 59, it is a correctly drawn cross patonce. I propose to give it that name, and would associate it with the principal charge in the arms assigned by fourteenth century heralds to St. Edward, King and Confessor, arms which were held in the greatest honour in the time of Richard II., and which, differenced by a silver label, were actually impaled with his own arms by the founder of the Lancastrian dynasty before he usurped the throne as King Henry IV.

This cross, which but for the appearance of the cross voided, No. 61, on a single rare issue, holds its own on the obverse of the groats until the end of the reign, rapidly degenerates in form to No. 60, and on the latest coinages, as No. 62, is scarcely distinguishable from a cross crosslet. It evicted the nicked cross from the reverse of the groats at some time during the issue of the trefoil coinages, and is the only mark found on the smaller pieces, except on certain scarce trefoil halfpence, and on some of the late half-groats, on which the nicked cross makes a brief reappearance. Finally, it survives on the first issue of Edward IV., which differs only from the latest of his predecessors by the change of name. A small and neat cross pattée, No. 66, soon takes its place, and then begins the series of varied mint-marks, such as rose, sun, crown, etc., which continue down to the time of the Commonwealth. Interspersed among these are found a few varieties of the cross in Edward's reign which are worth noting. First the cross fitchée, No. 67, which is found both plain and pierced. Later, a variety, No. 68, in which the lower pointed limb is cut off, and this mark was continued on the light groats issued during the brief restoration of Henry VI. in 1470. On these the tapering of the lower limb is not always apparent, and the piercing would sometimes seem to be absent, but it is possible that this was accidental (compare Nos. 63, 64 and 65). A true cross pattée, quite devoid of piercing, is also sometimes seen on these coins, as No. 63A.¹ On a later groat of Edward IV. is seen a rather slight cross with a pellet in each angle, No. 69, and this is followed by a pierced cross, No. 70, rather of the style of some found on Henry V.'s coins, but with the addition of a

¹ This is 65A on the plate of coins.

pellet in one angle only. This example ends my list. I trust it may not be found devoid of interest.

While in no way claiming to bring forward new material or impart unpublished information, I hope to have shown that the mint-mark cross on Plantagenet coins is deserving of closer scrutiny and more careful study than it generally receives. It is really curious to note the many varieties to be found of the simple cross pattée. Those of the first two Edwards seem never quite to resemble those of Edward III., which latter, considered by themselves, offer a most interesting study in evolution. I do not wish to suggest that the many variations of form to be noted were in any way intentional on the part of the engraver or meant to distinguish coins of different issues, but there appears always to have existed in mediæval times a tradition of custom and fashion in the making of dies which strongly influenced the craftsmen of the day. Not only in the form of the mint-mark cross, but also in the various component parts which assembled together constitute a complete die, do we see the gradual process of change and development going on.

We find for instance at certain periods a very definite and clearly marked fashion in hair, both in the principal curls and in the manner of indicating the hair upon the forehead. This is sometimes rendered by a series of tiny lozenges placed close together, sometimes by a similar row consisting of pellets, which in turn give place to a chain of squares or rectangles, while later on these revert to the pellet form and their number is reduced to three or even two. As with the hair so it is with the king's crown, of which the pearls are at one time represented perfectly round, while on subsequent issues we find them of well defined spear-head formation. The central fleur-de-lys is found sometimes large and sometimes small, and those at the extremities also vary considerably. On almost all coins of Edward I. three members are represented, while on those of Edward II. and subsequently more than two are never seen. Similar custom affects the lettering. At times the open **e** and barred **æ** are invariable, while later on the closed **æ** and unbarred **æ** are always found. These matters I hope to deal with

more fully in a subsequent paper, but I refer to them now as bearing on the question of evolution. When we see this process going on so consistently in connection with every component part of the design for a coin, it is the more easy to realise that the variations which occur in the shape and character of the mint-mark cross may well have very definite and instructive meaning. That it was ever the intention of the mint authorities to recognise particular issues by the appearance of the coins is most improbable, and this question seems definitely negatived by the great frequency of mules at all periods. But that the engravers, when preparing dies for important new issues, always worked on very definite and distinctive lines, is without question. And it is these very mules, combined with careful study of the details of the various dies which they unite, which so often enable us to determine the correct order of various issues.




CHARLES II. FROM AN ORIGINAL COLOURED CHALK DRAWING BY SIR PETER LELY
IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. W. SHARP OGDEN.

See p. 247.

PORTRAITURE OF OUR STUART MONARCHS ON THEIR COINS AND MEDALS.

PART I.

BY HELEN FARQUHAR.

 ON a former occasion I have had the pleasure of addressing this Society on the subject of the numismatic portraiture of our monarchs, commencing with the founder of our Tudor line of kings, Henry VII., who was the first to be accurately represented upon our coinage. I hope now, with your permission, to trace the further development of this particular branch of art, which under Charles I. and Charles II. attained to a very high point of excellence.

On the death of Elizabeth, James I., the ruler in Scotland of a very poor court where he had been educated under the conflicting supervision of various regencies, was a curious mixture of prodigality and parsimony ; slovenly in his own dress, for his vanity was rather of his attainments than of his person, he encouraged extravagance in others and was possessed by a mania for ostentation, which found its vent in an excessive expenditure in jewellery, with which he loaded his family and his favourites.

He was perhaps more remarkable for his pedantry than for any real love of the arts, but his learning was undoubted, and his conversation, especially in argument, was often very shrewd. It is said that his head being opened after his death, the amount of brain contained in the cranium was found to be unusually large. He was most assiduous in the teaching of his sons, and both Henry and Charles profited largely by the very catholic education which he caused them to receive.

With all this he was foolish in manner, and Sir Anthony Weldon remarked concerning him that "he was very liberal of what he had not in his own gripe, and would rather part with £100 he never had in his keeping than one twenty shilling piece within his own custody."¹ This perhaps is hardly fair, for James was all too generous in his gifts, readily sacrificing jewels,² which had long been in his own possession, for the adornment of Charles or of Buckingham. Weldon continues more truly—"He spent much and had much use of his subjects' purses, which bred some clashing with them in Parliament, yet it would always come off and end with a sweet and plausible close."

James was thirty-six years of age when he came to the English throne in 1603, and he had occupied that of Scotland from his infancy, being proclaimed king on his mother's forced abdication in 1567. Weldon describes him as being "of middle stature, more corpulent through his cloathes than in his body, yet fat enough³; his cloathes being made large and very easy, the doublets quilted for stiletto proof, his breeches in great pleites and full-stuffed; he was naturally of a timorous disposition, which was the reason of his quilted doublets; his eyes large . . . His beard was very thin, his tongue too large for his mouth, . . . his skin soft as taffeta sarsnet, which felt so, because he never washt his hands, only rubb'd his finger ends slightly with the wet end of a napkin . . . his legs were very weak."⁴

The infantine delicacy of the little King of Scots was, it is recorded, so great that he was unable to stand at seven years old, and in the main Weldon's portrait of James, though not alluring, appears to have been fairly correct, for even in many cases on his coinage we see the "thin beard" and the "corpulent body," and the unit illustrated below presents these peculiarities.

¹ Anthony Weldon's character of King James, printed in Smeeton's *Historical and Biographical Tracts*, vol. i, p. 57.

² *Jewellery*, by H. Clifford Smith, p. 210.

³ A letter written by the Spanish Ambassador is quoted by Mr. Gibbs on p. 88 of *The King's Favorite*. It mentions that James, towards the middle of his reign, "grows too fat to be able to hunt comfortably, and spends much time in reading, especially religious works, and eats and drinks so recklessly, that it is thought he will not be long-lived."

⁴ Anthony Weldon, p. 55.

His coins, as James I. of England and James VI. of Scotland, show forth an unusually extended series of portraits, for we see him from 1582 onward, when in his sixteenth year his effigy appeared upon his coins in his northern kingdom, and with many changes of bust



JAMES I. FIRST ENGLISH UNIT.

during the twenty-two years of his English rule. Colonel Morrieson¹ has entered so fully and competently into this subject that any further description of mine would be superfluous, and I will therefore turn my attention to the personal influence of James upon the coinage and upon his medals, trying to ascertain what artists were employed by him.

The King was fortunate in inheriting from Elizabeth the services of Charles Anthony and Nicholas Hilliard. Not that I wish to suggest that the latter gave designs for the coinage or executed aught in the precious metals save some medals for James, and even of these the attribution is somewhat vague, but as a miniaturist his talents were highly valued at the English court. On his accession the new king found Hilliard installed as "limner carver and goldsmith" at his southern capital, whilst the post of graver of the mint and seals at the Tower had been held at a fee of £30 a year since June 30th, 1599, by Charles Anthony in succession to his father Derick.²

The beauty of Queen Elizabeth's gold coinage and that of James would lead us to believe that the Anthonys, father and son, were no mean craftsmen.

¹ The busts of James I. on his silver coinage, *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. iii, pp. 173 to 179.

² *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, 1598-1601, p. 224.

Although the great seals of James¹ closely resemble one another they do not strike me, in such impressions as I have seen, as comparable with Hilliard's work in the second great seal² executed for Elizabeth, yet they are a decided improvement on the matrix first engraved for her by Derick Anthony. I should therefore be inclined to assume that Charles Anthony was possessed of greater skill than his father.

The design of James I.'s seated figure is very reminiscent of that of Elizabeth. We are, however, informed by Mr. Allan Wyon³ that Charles Anthony was the engraver thereof, and he quotes a warrant addressed by the monarch on May 8th, 1603, to "Charles Anthony, graver of our mynt and seals," giving orders to him to engrave "our Great Seale of England and divers other Seales as well."

There are many notices in the *Calendars of Domestic State Papers* concerning this official, amongst others, I may select as being interesting that of May 25th, 1603, addressed to Sir Thomas Knyvet, warden of the mint, as follows⁴:—"We are determined to proceed with the moneys wrought by warrant of the late Queen, viz., angels, half-angels and quarter-angels of fine gold; crowns and half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences of silver, also pieces of twopence, pence, and halfpence . . . you are to order Charles Anthony graver of our mint to cause to be graven irons needful for striking of our said moneys, and we authorize you to take up skilful gravers for the said works within our Tower of London."

The interest attached to this notice is that by no means all these denominations made their appearance at this time. According to Mr. Kenyon⁵ the first angel of James is of 1605, the half-angel was not issued before 1610 or 1611, and the quarter-angel is not known, the place of the two last being taken by the crown and half-crown in gold. The half-sovereign which supplied the place of the angel, belonged both to the first issue of James and to the last of Elizabeth, and together

¹ Allan Wyon's *Great Seals of England*, Plates XXIV and XXV.

² Wyon's *Great Seals*, Plate XXIII.

³ *Great Seals of England*, p. 189, quoting a document in British Museum.

⁴ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, Addenda, 1603, p. 425, vol. xxxv.

⁵ *Gold Coins of England*, p. 147.

with the sovereign, gold crown and half-crown is not mentioned in the warrants. The sovereign and its parts come naturally into the scope of our present discussion, because the king's portrait appears on these coins; whereas the angel maintained its usual type, and indeed was thus continued in a modified form so long as the touchpiece was an article of veneration.

It still held a place in the currency of James I., but orders are to be found in the *Calendar of State Papers*, for angels specially pierced for use as touch-pieces only,¹ and this is also the case under Charles I.,² whilst under Charles II. the coin assumed a medalllic aspect.

It would be interesting if we could ascertain who were the "skilful gravers" selected to help Anthony in his work, but most of their names remain unchronicled. We learn, however, that one, John Baptist, as under-graver, received the royal command to make some medals in October and November, 1604,³ and on December the 28th of the same year he is again mentioned in connection with Anthony. The directions for making an Irish coinage include "a warrant to Charles Anthony to engrave dies . . . , and for payment to him of customary allowances in his place of under-graver, as lately held by John Ruslinger till John Baptista was appointed to the place."⁴ In the year 1609 we find the names of various officials at the Tower appended to a recommendation of one John Reynolds as having been "trained ten years in the Mint, and sufficiently informed for the master worker's place," and on the advice of "Fras. Gofton, Rich. Roger, Alex. King, Pa. Swallow and Charles Anthony" the appointment of "Master Workman of the King's money"⁵ was accorded to him. At dates varying between 1612 and 1617, I have found Sir Francis Gofton mentioned as Auditor of

¹ *Calendar of State Papers Dom.*, 1623-25, p. 340, Sept., 1624, vol. clxxii, and *Num. Chron.*, 1907, p. 21 *et seq.*, by Cochran-Patrick.

² The angel was not issued as currency after 1634 under Charles I. Kenyon, p. 165

³ *State Papers Dom.*, Green, 1603-10, pp. 160, vol. ix, Oct. 27th, docquet, and 164, vol. x, Nov. 4th, docquet.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 179, vol. x, docquet at the Public Record Office. Shillings and sixpences are the coins mentioned in the original MS. document.

⁵ *Calendar of State Papers Dom.*, Green, addenda, 1580 to 1625, pp. 520, vol. xxxix, and in 1603 to 1610, p. 560, vol. xlix.

the Exchequer,¹ Richard Roger as Controller, and Paul Swallow as Surveyor of the Melting.²

That James was desirous of improving his currency is evinced by an order addressed on the 1st of December, 1611, to his Master of the Mint, Sir Thomas Martin, concerning "sundry models, tools and engines thereafter to be made, for the better making of His Majesty's monies, both of gold and silver, more fair than heretofore they have been, and for making of all sorts of small monies with speed, beauty, and fastness."³ Have we in this a foreshadowing of the mill and screw?

We may fairly conclude that during the early years of James I.'s reign, the portraiture on his coins was mostly attributable to Charles Anthony, but the principal alteration to the gold in this particular,



JAMES I. LAUREL.

presents a problem more difficult to decide ; I allude to that made on the introduction of the laurel and its parts in 1619, little more than a year after the appointment of William Hole, or Holle, in 1618, as cuneator of the mint.⁴ It appears to me unlikely that these coins were designed or executed by the chief engraver, for the new coinage of 1619 included some very beautiful rose-ryals, spur-ryals and angels, and these far more probably represent his handiwork. They are superior in finish to the minute productions of Anthony, and the fact that they thus stand alone might be explained by the short duration of Holle's tenure of office.

¹ *Calendar of State Papers Dom.*, 1611-1618, p. 112 in 1612, vol. lxviii.

² Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. xvii, p. 19.

³ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1st series, vol. iv, p. 181, quoting Pell Records.

⁴ *Calendar of State Papers Dom.*, Green, 1611-18, p. 542, May 29, 1618, vol. xcvi.

The laurels on the other hand, rough at the best both in design and execution, present such varieties that the dies could scarcely be classed as the work of one artist only. It is known that subordinates were employed by Holle, for a warrant of December 30th, 1619, speaks of "a reasonable allowance to be made to John Holle, Engraver of the Mint, for patterns made by him of the king's gold money, etc., and for the labours of other gravers and workmen employed by him."¹

Probably the name of *John* Holle is a mistake for that of William, for otherwise it would suggest that another member of the family was working at the mint at this time, and that the laurels might be attributed to him. This is, however, unlikely, because the warrants were seldom made payable to the under-gravers, and also because I have been unable to find any other mention of "John" in the State Papers; moreover, such clerical errors as the substitution of one Christian name for another are not unknown.

It seems to me possible that John Gilbert and Edward Green, who as joint chief-gravers succeeded Holle on his death in 1624,² may have been amongst these "workmen employed by him," and that they may have been responsible for the laurels. I should be the more inclined to attribute the less finished specimens to John Gilbert³ because his work ceases, at latest, with the year 1630, whereas that of Green is carried on throughout the greater part of King Charles I.'s reign, and some of his second and third coinages are better executed than the best of the laurels, whilst there is a distinct affinity between the later busts of James and the earlier of Charles, all of which should probably be attributable to Gilbert.

The marked change in type was no doubt made to call attention to the lowered value of the coin, and it is the first instance of a laureate bust in the English coinage. James had a great liking for classical dress and customs, and had caused himself to be designated Cæsar Augustus on his Coronation Medal, but the new design evoked

¹ *Calendar of State Papers Dom.*, 1619-23, p. 107, Dec. 30, vol. cxi.

² *Calendars of State Papers Dom.*, 1623-1625, p. 340, vol. clxxii, Sept. 15, 1624. The words applied to Holle are "lately deceased."

³ *Calendar of State Papers Dom.*, 1629-31, p. 359, Oct. 13, 1630, vol. clxxiv.

comment on the part of the people, who christened the coin the "laurel" in consequence. In Fuller's *Worthies* a story is told of a scoffer of the day, who remarked "that poets being always poor, bays were rather the emblems of wit than wealth, since King James no sooner began to wear them, but presently he fell two shillings in the pound in public valuation."¹ The allusion is to the fact that the value of the preceding unit had been raised by proclamation in 1611 to 22s., whilst the new coins were current at 20s. only. James, it seemed to the wit, set more store by his position as an author than as king, and Fuller also seemed impressed by this condescension, for he explains that "the branches of the laurel in all ages have been accounted honourable, in so much that King James in some sort waived his crown (which was worn on his sovereign) to wear the laurel on his new twenty shilling piece." As a matter of fact, the king was arrogating to himself the wreath of a conqueror or an emperor, but had really no more claim to either title than he had to that of poet. Probably he never thought about the matter from any of these points of view, but the revival of classic art had now become general in statuary and in architecture, and James, in all things a pedant, was in some degree the promoter of this fashion, which continued to increase until our kings, towards the end of the century, were frequently represented as Roman warriors on their medals and even upon the coinage, and the pseudo classic became in time ridiculous.

The portraiture of James on his coins is not as reminiscent of his pictures as are his medals, though, as demonstrated by Colonel Morrieson,² the changed fashion of his beard or hair is clearly delineated in the various issues. I have not been able to trace the likenesses on the coinage to any particular picture; whereas the medals and the engraved plaques of Simon van de Passe represent the contemporary modes so distinctly, that the portraits might almost be dated accordingly. So far as I have been able to compare the coins with paintings, Colonel Morrieson's deductions with regard to the gradual improvement

¹ Quoted by Allan Fea in *James II. and his Wives*, p. 46.

² *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. iii, pp. 173-179.



The high and mightie prince James by the
grace of god King of England Scotland Fraunce
and Ireland defensor of the faith

Laurence Johnson:sculpit. 1603

JAMES I., FROM A RARE PRINT IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. W. SHARP OGDEN.

in the shape of the beard and the lengthening and more artistic arrangement of the hair of his head, appear to be corroborated by the pictures of the day. I have, of course, been unable to find dated portraits corresponding to all the types, but a very rare print by Laurence Johnson, kindly lent to me by Mr. W. Sharp Ogden, shows James in 1603 appearing as he is seen upon the early coins.¹

Van Somer and Janssen as painters in oils, Isaac Oliver and Nicholas Hilliard as miniaturists, give us excellent portraits of the king. Oliver died in 1617, Hilliard in 1619, whilst Van Somer survived until 1621.² Janssen, as is usually stated, did not paint in England before 1618, so that his pictures are amongst the latest of the king. All four artists generally represent James more or less as we see him in the silver assigned by Colonel Morrieson to the period between 1608 and 1625, that is, on his fifth and sixth types.

Amongst the smaller paintings, the pleasantest I have ever seen are by Hilliard. A specially good likeness is to be found at Montagu House, and another much resembling it at Windsor; in these the hair appears under the hat upon the forehead, just as it does beneath the crown in Colonel Morrieson's type 4, which he dates 1605; the miniatures are undated but vividly recall a medal of 1604.³ A very fine painting by Isaac Oliver in Mr. Currie's collection at Minley Manor, dated 1609, represents type 5 of 1608 to 1619. There is a charming portrait of James, usually said to be by Hilliard, enclosed in the Lyte Jewel, which forms part of the Waddesdon bequest to the

¹ An impression of this print sold for 40 guineas at the Mark Sykes sale in 1824, but it was at that time believed to be unique, which is not quite the case.

² The portrait of James at Hampton Court, painted in his coronation robes, though undated, must be assigned to the last years of the artist's life, for he has introduced in the background a view of the banqueting hall at Whitehall, a building only commenced in 1619, and finished in 1622, after Van Somer's death. See *Hampton Court Catalogue*, by E. Law, No. 521. It is often possible to determine in this manner the date of a picture otherwise unrecorded. The king is here portrayed with a very thin, square-cut beard.

³ In the Rutland MS., part iv, p. 444, *Historical MSS. Commission*, there is a mention of a portrait of James by Hilliard in 1603. It figures in the household accounts "Item, to Hyldiard for a picture of the Kinges Majesty iij. li," but unfortunately this miniature cannot now be identified. See Dr. George Williamson in the *Connoisseur* Dec., 1906, "Note on Fees paid to old Miniature Painters."

British Museum. This splendid specimen of early seventeenth century jewellery was presented to the courtly Thomas Lyte in recognition of a pedigree compiled by him, which traced the ancestry of the king into the remote past.¹ The gem realised the sum of £2,835 at the Hamilton Palace sale, when it was acquired by Baron Ferdinand Rothschild, and whatever the pedigree of the king may have been, that of the jewel is undoubted. It has been thought by some that throughout it is the work of Hilliard, in his capacity of jeweller as well as painter, but it has also been attributed to George Heriot, who was more constantly at work for the court,² and again, even the miniature was according to some authors³ painted by Isaac Oliver; this, however, I think is a mistake. It is neither signed nor dated, but I learn from Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte that it was presented to his ancestor between the 10th of July, 1610, and the 14th of April, 1611, and that a contemporary portrait of Thomas Lyte of 1611, in the possession of Sir Henry, shows the jewel suspended by a brown ribbon round the owner's neck. Personally, though I give my opinion only for what it is worth, I think the miniature is by Hilliard, although there is more modelling and shadow in the face than is found in many of this artist's works. We here see James I. with hair and beard arranged as on the coinage in Colonel Morrieson's type 5, of 1608 to 1619.

Hilliard enjoyed special favour at the hands of the king, and was given a monopoly by him in the year 1617, which restricted the rights of all other artists and engravers. Rymer prints it in full, but the following extract suffices us: "Whereas our well-beloved servant Nicholas Hilliard, gentleman, our principal Drawer of the small Portraits and Imbosser of our medallies of gold in respect to his extraordinary skill in Drawing, Graving and Imprinting of Pictures

¹ "The Lytes of Lytescary," by Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte, Part II, of the year 1892; *Somersetshire Archaeological Journal*.

² *Catalogue of the Collection of Plate, Jewels, etc., bequeathed to the British Museum by Baron F. Rothschild*, p. vii, Introduction. George Heriot was court jeweller to James VI. in Scotland, and followed his master to England; he became rich and founded the hospital in Edinburgh which bears his name. He died in 1624. (See *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1623-25, p. 422, vol. cclxxvii.)

³ *Jewellery*, by H. Clifford Smith, p. 303.

and Representations of us and others, etc., etc., we have granted unto Nicholas Hilliard, his Executors, Administrators, Deputies, Servants and Assigns for twelve years to Invent grave and Ymprint any pictures of our Image or other Representation of our Person," etc., etc.¹ Hilliard did not live long to enjoy this grant, but he appears to have passed on his privilege to Simon van de Passe and others, or to have employed them to engrave the royal effigy as exemplified in the various oval plaques and counters made in 1616 and in the immediately ensuing years.



COUNTER OF JAMES I. AND PRINCE CHARLES. *MED. ILL.* VOL. I, $\frac{376}{272}$

The monopoly was exercised by his son Laurence until the expiration of its term, but though he succeeded his father as the king's limner, there is no evidence that he engraved aught. The medallions of Simon van de Passe often give us a very pleasing rendering of the royal features, but James was not an easy person to portray, and though Van Somer and his brother craftsmen produced fine paintings of him, is well-known that he objected strongly to giving the artists the sittings necessary for the purpose.²

A rather peculiar and original portrait of James I.³ presents itself to our notice on a silver-gilt box in my collection. It is of the school of Passe, though by a less practised hand. The casket, strange in shape and in design, offers a puzzle which I have failed to solve, for the arms which decorate one of the panels are not those of any of the persons portrayed on the other facets, and the shields which bear them

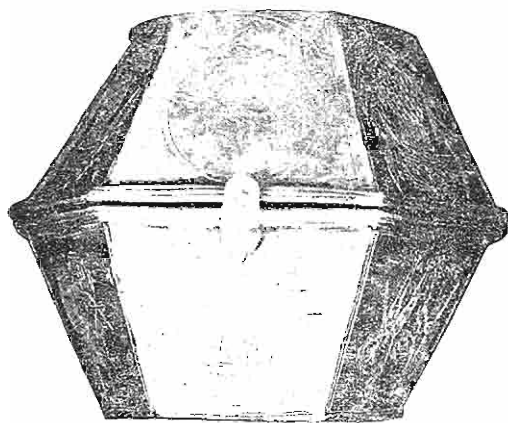
¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*, xvii, p. 15, quoted also by Vertue, *Add. MS.*, British Museum, 23069, f. 45B.

² *Side-lights of English History*, p. 35, by E. F. Henderson.

³ The portrait of James is not unlike an oil painting by Van Somer, but I have been unable to trace it precisely to any prototype.

suggest difficulties of date ; they are perhaps the additions of a more recent possessor.¹

The original owner or donor should, to judge by the rest of the evidence, have been either Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham and Lord High Admiral of England, whose portrait by Zuccherò is well-known, or Francis Bacon, for these two form the subject of engraved subdivisions, whilst a third compartment represents Sir Walter Raleigh, whose picture is taken from a print by Passe, which figures in 1617 as the frontispiece to his *History of the World*. It appears, however,



SILVER-GILT BOX, CIRCA 1618?

more likely that the box was not made, at the earliest, till the year 1618²—that of Raleigh's death—for Francis Bacon wears his robes as chancellor, a dignity to which he attained at that time, when Van Somer³ painted him and Simon van de Passe engraved his portrait

¹ From the style of engraving, apart from other questions, this seems probable. I have consulted various experts, learned in heraldry as well as in works of art, with the result that it has been suggested to me by more than one connoisseur that the box is strictly contemporary, and that the shields have been added in the second half of the eighteenth century in a space originally left vacant for some such purpose, and this indeed appears to be the only possible solution if this box was really engraved in the time of James I., as the rest of the decoration would lead us to suppose.

² Raleigh was executed on October 29th, 1618. Bacon had been appointed Lord Chancellor on January 7th of that year.

³ The picture is now in the National Portrait Gallery.

also. Of this date there is other evidence such as the falling band worn by James, substituted *circa* 1616 for the quilled ruff, which had been popular till the inventor of a certain yellow starch lately used to stiffen these uncomfortable collars, a Mrs. Anne Turner, was executed towards the end of the year 1615 for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury; she was hanged in a ruff, and it is said that the taste in fashion almost immediately changed.¹

The curious shape of the casket, and the nautical emblems with which it is decorated, suggest that it held an astrolabe or some such mariner's instrument, whilst the ark and the dove, so much used by



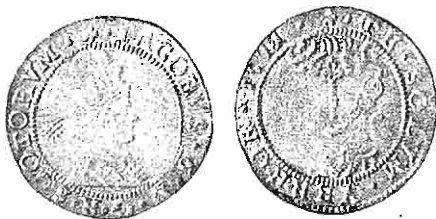
JAMES I. ENGRAVED ON THE LID OF THE BOX.

both Elizabeth and James on their naval rewards, play a prominent part in the ornamentation, so that we might think it had been a presentation to some one who had taken part in Raleigh's expedition, which terminated in 1618, but though the style and appearance of the engraving are so entirely such as we should expect upon a piece of contemporary origin. I am not prepared, in view of the heraldic question, to make definite assertions as to the date of execution; the alternative being that we

¹ Mrs. Turner was convicted on November 7th, 1615, and on the 11th was reprieved for a few days only, in the hope of extorting a confession; she duly confessed, but obtained no pardon, and was hanged in a yellow ruff, a fashion also followed by the executioner. See *The King's Favorite*, by P. Gibbs, p. 315.

have before us the work of an exceedingly clever eighteenth century imitator of early seventeenth century engraving, either by copying an almost identical piece of a former date or taking his models in the smallest details from old prints and drawings supplemented by the Houbrakens and Vertues of his own time. I am, however, inclined to believe with nearly all of those who have critically examined the box, that had this been the case, it is unlikely the copyist would have been so successful in reproducing the style of the older engravings, the portraits, the groups, the ships and emblems, and yet have introduced so meagre a design as that of the coat-of-arms. Also, I may mention that these shields are less gracefully engraved than the earlier portions of the work, so that the likelihood of their being by another hand is great, although the gilding hardly looks as though it had been recently disturbed. The box remains a riddle—with a query after the date 1618.

Often in his pictures we find James wearing a hat,¹ high-crowned or broad-brimmed, as the case may be; sometimes on his medals the crown is superimposed on the hat, and even upon one of the coins of Scotland a very remarkable dome-shaped erection covers the head of the king.



HAT-PIECE OF JAMES VI. OF SCOTLAND.

The hat-piece, as it was called, was a gold coin of the value of 80s. Scots. It represents James in the peculiar headgear, much as we see him in his portrait as James VI. of Scotland, from the Brühl-Finckenstein collection now shown in the National Portrait Gallery. The coin

¹ Old prints representing the conspirators of the Gunpowder Plot, *i.e.*, of 1605 and 1606, portray extremely high-crowned, but broad-brimmed hats. Much the same shape with jewelled hat bands was worn by women in the lifetime of Anne of Denmark, who is often represented thus adorned; Anne died in 1619.

is of the years 1591-93, but I have seen a print engraved after his accession to the English throne, in which an almost similar high-crowned and brimless hat surmounts the king's face. This picture corroborates the tradition that he, as is so often stated, was very slow in adopting a new fashion. The hat in the original plaque by Simon van de Passe, here shown from the National Collection, is of a more becoming shape, wide-brimmed and graceful, and though it is said that James detested the broad Spanish sombrero, remarking that "he neither loved the Spaniards nor their fashions,"¹ there are some interesting medals, *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 193, Nos. 14 and 15, to which I would gladly call attention, as portraying the king in the Spanish



JAMES I., BY SIMON VAN DE PASSE, *MED. ILL.*, i, $\frac{215}{62}$.

mode. They were specially made to commemorate the peace with Spain, concluded on the 19th of August, 1604, and to these I have just referred as combining the broad-brimmed hat with the crown. They are, of course, some twelve or more years earlier in date than the Passe plaque.

One of these medallions, *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 193, No. 14, here illustrated, is a very fine piece of work, the other, No. 15, also shown, is an inferior cast copy, decorated with a heavy border.

¹ Anthony Weldon's *Character of James I.*, published in 1650 and republished in Smeeton's *Historical Biographical Tracts*, vol. i, London, 1820, p. 56.

It is probable that the adverse opinion of James on the Spaniards was expressed in a moment of petulance over the failure of the negotiations for a Spanish match, for, as a rule, his relations with that country were more friendly than suited the feelings of his people, with whom in that buccaneering age, peace with Spain was by no means popular.



PEACE-WITH-SPAIN MEDAL, *MED. ILL.*, VOL. I, P. 193, NO. 14.

The original struck medallion, No. 14, is ascribed by Pinkerton, in his *Medallic History*, Plate XII, No. 6, to Hilliard, and comparison with such numismatic work as we have of his, renders this extremely likely, the more so as it nearly reproduces the miniatures of James by this artist at Windsor¹ and at Montagu House, in



PEACE-WITH-SPAIN MEDAL WITH BORDER, *MED. ILL.*, VOL. I, P. 193, NO. 15.

position and even in size ; though in the pictures the severe simplicity of dress gives place to a striped and embroidered doublet, and the crown is not portrayed upon the hat.

¹ Illustrated in the *Connoisseur* of January, 1906, plate facing p. 234, No. 8.

The reverse of this medal reappears with another obverse, but the portrait is very different and the work of a foreign hand.¹

There are notices calendared in the *Domestic State Papers*, and in Devon's *Issues of the Exchequer*, of payments for various medals, executed by numerous artists in the years 1604, 1605 and 1606, but there is a fair amount of reason for thinking that the following entry applies to the fine medal, No. 14, attributed above to Hilliard, and of which the beautiful example in the British Museum is in gold. We read that on December 26th, 1604, a warrant was issued "to pay to Nich. Hilliard £64 10s. for 12 gold medals."² Now the fact that the pendant ascribed by Pinkerton to Hilliard is amongst the few still existing in the precious metal, proves little or nothing, for we know that James caused many other such presents to be made,³ which have not come down to us, and the intrinsic value of golden medallions resulted in the destruction of many artistic works in times of adversity. But in favour of Pinkerton's attribution, I may state that the fine workmanship of the *Peace-with-Spain* medal recalls Elizabeth's Armada badge, No. 129,⁴ which, in a former article, I ventured to ascribe to Hilliard, though the dress of the king is naturally less elaborate than that of the queen.

Anthony Weldon mentions James I.'s "large eyes ever rowling after any stranger that came in his presence,"⁵ and they are very noticeable in this portrait; the same peculiarity is seen on another extremely rare badge, *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 194, No. 17, made in October, 1604, on the endeavour of the king to establish the Union between England and Scotland. Although this effort failed, the words MAG. BRIT. . . R. X. were in November, 1604,⁶ substituted

¹ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 194, No. 16.

State Papers Dom., Green, 1603-1610, p. 179, vol. x, docquet.

³ Upwards of fifty medals are specified in a list of gifts supplied by John Williams for distribution by James in the year 1606 alone. See Devon's *Issues of the Exchequer*, pp. 300-301.

⁴ Vol. iv, *British Numismatic Journal*, illustrated p. 133, *et seq.*

⁵ Character of King James, published in Smceton's *Historical and Biographical Tracts*, vol. i, p. 55.

⁶ *State Papers Dom.*, Nov. 4, 1604, docquet, MS. in Public Record Office.

for the ANG. SCO. . . . REX. in use upon the coins issued prior to the king's well-meant attempt, and the fresh title appears upon the badge as well as upon the coinage.

The proposal of James to effect the Union was rejected by the English Parliament in November, 1606, after much discussion, the Scots being at that time inclined towards it. This is curious, for when, more than a hundred years later, the measure was finally carried, the opposition came from the Scottish side. Hume says that the precipitation of the monarch in assuming on his own authority in 1604, the title of King of Great Britain, "had been observed to do more injury than service to the cause,"¹ but it is worthy of remark that the *Peace-with-Spain* badge, struck in August, 1604, was the last medallic specimen on which James used the older designation. The



ATTEMPTED-UNION MEDAL, *MED. ILL.*, I, P. 194, NO. 17.

Intended-Union medal is cast and chased, and although it is not of specially fine execution, one of the three² existing examples has a beautiful openwork border, which renders it very attractive, and the portrait with the graceful hat and plume is not displeasing.

The large and becoming headgear is also observable on several medallions, probably intended for suspension to the massive gold chains of the day. We have already found John Baptista³ and Charles Anthony receiving orders for medals in the year 1604⁴—possibly those men-

¹ Hume's *History of England*, ed. 1848, vol. iv, p. 252.

² The medal illustrated is in the British Museum, the second specimen is in the Hunter collection, and that with the border is in a private cabinet.

³; See p. 149.

⁴ Record Office MS., *State Papers Dom.*, vol. x, docquet, Nov. 4, 1604.

tioned above, for the type is only specified as "according to such pattern as his Ma^{tie} shall allow." We read that William Herrick¹ and Arnold Lulls² made two pictures of gold set with stones, given by the queen to "the late French Ambassador and the Lady his wife" in 1605. They also produced chains and medals of gold in December, 1606, whilst John Williams³ was constantly employed, and it seems impossible in the light of our present knowledge to decide to which artist any particular badge may be fairly attributed, excepting in the case of "a fair besant," which Charles Anthony had "made for his Ma^{ties} service." For this, according to a MS. in the Public Record Office,⁴ I find that he received the payment of £47 7s.—thus settling the vexed question as to who the maker might be of the beautiful *cliché* pattern in the British Museum, for an obverse of this coin, known as *Med. Ill.*, i, p. 187, No. 2.

The *Issues of the Exchequer* in some cases gives the weight of a chain or pendant, and to this fact we might look for assistance, were it not that none of the medallions which I have so far had the opportunity of weighing, have reached the required standard. John Williams made thirty-eight medals for James at one time, besides divers others in the same year, executed for some special purpose, and the weight of the thirty-eight specimens collectively is given at 61 ozs. 18 dwt. 12 grs., whilst one of the single examples is mentioned at 1 oz. 10 dwt. We thus see that they averaged from 720 to 756 grs., whereas the heaviest of the gold badges known to me weighs 698 grs., and is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

The struck medallion which I have ventured to ascribe to Hilliard turns the scale at 556 grs., and one of the few other gold pendants

¹ Devon's *Issues of the Exchequer*, pp. 49 and 52.

² Arnold Lulls is frequently mentioned as one of the King's jewellers, but in 1620 he is sentenced to pay a fine of £8,000 for "unlawful transporting of coin." *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1619-23, p. 119, vol. cxii.

³ John Williams, the king's goldsmith, was a person of some importance, and Sir Henry Coke advised in 1609 "that he should be put into the Commission of the Peace for London as was Sir Richard Martin, the Queen's goldsmith in the late reign. This was in consequence of the daily robbery of the King's plate." See *Calendar of State Papers Dom.*, 1603-10, p. 574, vol. i.

⁴ *State Papers Dom.*, MS. Public Record Office, vol. x, docquet, Nov. 4, 1604.

which remain to us, *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 233, No. 96,¹ in silver at the British Museum, but in gold in the Hunter collection, though much larger, weighs, as I am courteously informed from Glasgow, only 483 grs.; and this is curious, for the specimen at Paris, to which I have just referred, is, as we have seen, 215 grs. heavier. It is probably thicker in the flan, but of this I am no judge, because I have not seen the Glasgow example. It is, of course, possible that the many medallions made by Williams were not all of the same design and may have varied greatly in weight, so no certainty is attained by



MEDAL OF JAMES I., REVERSE, THE ARK. *MED. ILL.*, VOL. I, P. 233, NO. 96.

dividing 61 ozs. 18 dwts. 12 grs. by 38. The discrepancy between two cast medals of similar type, such as the specimens of No. 96, may be partly caused by the shrinkage of the metal as the successive casts were made, but so large a variant as that mentioned above is greater than can be thus explained, and shows the futility of relying on weight for purposes of identification in pieces of this nature. I have weighed some of the other silver or bronze medallions of this series of honorary

¹ This medal bears an exact resemblance to a miniature now in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, in the collection of the Arch Duke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, who died in 1595; but I find that this portrait, together with its companion miniature of Anne of Denmark, was a later addition to this sixteenth century collection. See p. 90 and Plate II, Nos. 215 and 215A of the xix vol. of *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlung des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*. The miniature of Anne is precisely like her coronation medal, *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 192, No. 12. The two portraits are attributed to Nicholas Hilliard, *circa* 1603, though unsigned and undated, but the two medals are not by the same hand, and that of James does not suggest his workmanship.

rewards such as Nos. 95-97 and 99, and calculated the difference in specific gravity between the minerals, but judging from such few specimens as were within my reach, I have not found that they can have approached the 720 grs., and upwards, of the productions mentioned in the *Issues of the Exchequer* as being by Williams; furthermore we are not even sure that these examples were ever made in the more precious metal, so, for the present, the works of Williams remain unidentified.

Most of the medallions are cast and chased, and if any of these could be definitely ascribed to Williams, we might find the explanation of the fact that he was paid much less for his work than was Hilliard. On folio 62 of the third volume of the *Privy Seal Book* at the Record Office, I find that £45 was allowed for the gold of the twelve medals made by Nicholas Hilliard, and £19 10s. for "the making and workmanship of the same," he being paid "the sum of three-score and four pounds ten shillings" for the completed medallions, which is at the rate of over £5 for each example. On the other hand, Williams received only £5 10s. for "the fashion" of his thirty-eight specimens, or roughly speaking, 3s. a piece, against an average of £1 12s. 6d. paid to Hilliard for the "making and workmanship" of each of his.

The collars were a much more costly affair, for we find Williams obtaining £9 4s. 4d. for making a single chain given by the King to the Chancellor of Emden, valued in its entirety at £115 17s. 4d.¹

James was by no means too ready to pay his bills, and enormous sums—as money was then reckoned—were owing to this jeweller and various others. This monarch, whose liabilities in 1608 reached £1,000,000, whose expenditure sometimes exceeded his income by £200,000 a year,² and who already in 1606 was labouring under a deficit of £735,000, augmented in three years to this amount from the debt of £400,000 inherited from Elizabeth, is often found ordering such trifles as a chain and hat-band set with diamonds at the price of

¹ Devon's *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 300.

² *Political History of England*, vol. vii, pp. 33-37 and 67, by F. E. Montague.

£4,000,¹ or "a chain of gold with a tablet with the king's portrait" at £900,² to give as presents, and the queen was no less extravagant.

I find an order to pay ten per cent. to any person who would advance money to the jewellers, to provide Anne of Denmark with jewels valued at £20,500,³ and the unpunctuality of the court payments is made manifest by the fact that even the regular fees remained owing for years. The emoluments of William Herrick, John Spilman and George Heriot, granted to them on their appointment as royal jewellers in 1603, accumulated as a debt until 1616,⁴ and the £900 for the great chain, mentioned above, was only delivered to the executors of George Heriot in December, 1624, together with £170 for another tablet. Bills for Prince Henry's jewels were discharged after his death,⁵ whilst many of the orders executed for Prince Charles⁶ only received their due remuneration after his accession to the throne.

There are, however, many instances when James loyally met his liabilities, and we find warrants for large sums, such as £5,774 11s. 6½*d.* for plate and jewels given to various ambassadors in new year's gifts and for the expenses of the jewel office,⁷ or again, £4,328 5s. 9*d.* for gilt plate designed for the same purpose,⁸ and many like entries are frequently found in the books as paid. Sometimes James had his jewels reset for the use of others,⁹ and some important pieces made their way out to Spain, during the negotiations for the proposed engagement of Charles; but on the breaking off of the match, these were in most cases returned. It is estimated that the gems despatched to Charles and Buckingham were valued at £600,000.¹⁰

It is no wonder that the monarch was in frequent difficulties; his

¹ *Cal. of State Papers Dom.*, 1611-18, p. 194, vol. lxxiv.

² *Ibid.*, 1623-25, p. 422, vol. clxxvii.

³ *Ibid.*, 1603-10, p. 574, vol. l.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1611-18, p. 367, vol. lxxxvii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, July 13th, 1613, p. 194, vol. lxxiv. Prince Henry died October 10th, 1612.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1625-26, p. 55, July, 1625, vol. iv.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1603-10, p. 507, vol. xlv.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 394, vol. xxxi.

⁹ *Jewellery*, by H. Clifford Smith, p. 210.

¹⁰ *The Romance of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham*, by Philip Gibbs, p. 163, quoting a contemporary letter from the Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

large claims upon the Commons, forced as he was by his necessities to call them to his aid, left an uneasy legacy to his son, in the constant disputes, as to what should belong to the king by royal right, or what should be his by free gift.

The fact is that James had curiously little knowledge of the value of money unless placed before him in a tangible form, for if he could be made to realise the magnitude of the sums he lavished on his favourites he would retract the gift. The Lord Treasurer, profiting by this peculiarity, caused the sum of £20,000 promised by the king to Somerset, to be tied up in four large and heavy bags containing £5,000 each, and then so placed them that James was bound to see them and ask what they were. He was informed that it was the money for Somerset. "Zounds, man!" exclaimed the monarch, "five thousand is enough to serve his turn," and the remaining £15,000 were saved to the exchequer.¹ It was said, however, that his courtiers could get anything from him for the asking, and once when Lord Holland whispered to one of the gentlemen-in-waiting that he wished he could have the spending of £3,000, which was carried past him on its way to the Privy Purse, the king overhearing the remark, at once ordered that it should be given him. Indeed, it was truthfully reported that "the setting up of these golden calves"—to wit, the royal favourites, "cost England more than Elizabeth spent on all her wars." James was not wanting in the smaller liberalities in the way of gifts, such as "one hundred poundes for a drollery" to Ben Jonson, who rolled off a grace which struck the fancy of the somewhat bibulous king. The verses were as follows:—

"Our King and Queen the Lord God blesse,
The Palsgrave and the Lady Besse,
And God blesse every living thing
That lives and breathes and loves the King,
God blesse the Council of Estate
And Buckingham the fortunate,
God blesse them all and keep them safe,
And God blesse me and God blesse Ralph."²

¹ Jesse's *Memoirs of the Stuarts*, vol. i, pp. 66 and 67.

² Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, vol. ii, p. 14.

Now Ralph was the "drawer of canarie" at Ben Jonson's tavern, The Swanne Tavern, Charing Cross, and the king was delighted at being bracketed with the pot-boy—for he was an odd mixture of the sage with the buffoon. But in justice to him, it should be stated that his real knowledge of letters led him to appreciate the great talents of the dramatist, whose powers, as a writer of masques and poems, had ample opportunity of expression at the court of James, who rewarded his services with a pension of £200 a year. Indeed, it may be said of James, that literature met with more encouragement at his hands than it did at those of his successor, whose fine taste was more turned to the acquisition of art treasures than of libraries.

Although Anthony Weldon says that James "had rather spent £100,000 on Embassies to keep or procure a peace with dishonour, than £10,000 on an army that would have forced peace with honour,"¹ this favourite policy of "peace at any price" was perhaps dictated, not entirely by the want of courage of which he is often accused, but by the fact that his extravagance and useless prodigality left him without funds for more important matters. At the same time, the unwarlike tendency of the king was so well known, that Grainger tells us how "he is said to have been painted abroad with a scabbard without a sword, and with a sword which nobody could draw, though several were pulling at it."²

It was clearly not to the martial spirit of James, but to the custom of the times, that we must attribute the armour in which he is usually portrayed upon his coins.

The large ruff, which plays so important a part in the late portraits of Elizabeth or the early coinage of Charles I., is by no means a prominent feature on that of James, and he is sometimes seen in a plain collar—a far more artistic finish, appearing as it does above a breastplate, than even the smallest ruff of an occasional coin or medal.

The practice of depicting a king in armour was prevalent on the Continent, and from his childhood we are accustomed to see James

¹ *Character of King James*, p. 57.

² Grainger's *Biographical History of England*, vol. i, p. 310, ed. of 1779.

thus portrayed, but it is remarked that he wore a ruff on days when it must have been as inconvenient as it would have been on a warlike expedition, for he went out hunting most unsuitably dressed, "in trowser-breeches wearing a large ruff," when, being a bad rider though an ardent sportsman, his appearance was extremely ridiculous.

I have stated that in spite of his fondness for ostentation, he did not care for dress, and we read that he wore his garments as long as they would hang together, "as by his good will he would never change his cloathes till very ragges."¹ He hated extremes of fashion, exclaiming when offered by his attendants the shoes of the day adorned with large rosettes, that they would make a "ruff-footed dove" of him,² but this very indifference to dress may have led to the fact that on most of his coins, he is represented in armour of a restrained and not over decorated style.

We may follow with interest the gradations of the three-quarter type of Edward VI. so much affected by James, especially upon the Scottish coinage of his boyhood, from the rickety thin child to the portly man on the fine units struck after his accession to the English throne.

We read under January, 1581-2, an entry in the Treasury accounts for Scotland, which specifies the payment of £10 to "my lord Seytonis painter for certane pictures of his Maiesteis visage drawin be him and given to the sinkare to be gravin in the new cunyie"; and £100 is paid to "Thomas Foulis goldsmyth for sinking the new Irnis."³ The example of this coinage which I now illustrate, is the twenty-shilling piece of 1582, one of a long series of portraits of the little prince.



SCOTTISH TWENTY-SHILLING PIECE OF 1582.

¹ Anthony Weldon's *Character of James I.*, p. 56, vol. i, Smecton's *Historical Tracts*.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Records of the Coinage*, Cochran-Patrick, vol. i, p. 248.

Mr. Burns informs us that the puncheons, etc., for the first issues of James after his accession to the English throne were made in London by James Acheson, Master of the Mint for Scotland, and were sent home by him in June, 1605, and delivered into the hands of Thomas Foulis, "Sinker of His Majestie's Irines."¹

The finest of the new coins was the unit, ordered by the proclamation of the 15th of November, 1604,² and slightly altered in its second issue in the arrangement of the arms on the reverse.



JAMES I.'S SECOND SCOTTISH UNIT AFTER HIS ACCESSION TO THE ENGLISH THRONE.

The type bears a strong resemblance to that in use in England at the same time.

These Scottish coins carry us on to the reign of his son, for curiously enough, but for the change of title, the units bearing this portrait were almost exactly reproduced by Charles I.³

CHARLES I.

We do not lack instances of the retention for many years of the deceased ruler's effigy upon coins, instead of the immediate substitution of the new king's likeness, *vide* the case of Henry VIII., but in the sixteenth century, portraiture on our currency was in its infancy, whereas under Charles I. it almost attained its zenith. He had such excellent judgment in drawing and painting that, to quote one of his most severe critics, "he might have got a livelihood by them";⁴ and we find in his

¹ *The Coinage of Scotland*, vol. ii, 415.

² *Ibid.*, p. 430.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 441.

⁴ *The Nunsuch Charles; his Character*, p. 189.

later issues a marked improvement in artistic portrayal upon those of his father. It is, therefore, indeed strange that Charles, with his great love of art and of numismatics, should not more quickly have replaced James I.'s effigy by a representation more closely resembling himself.

The very slight difference between the three-quarter length figure of Charles on his first Scottish unit¹ and that of his father, lies in the pointed shape of the beard. It is noticed by Mr. Burns,² that although



FIRST SCOTTISH UNIT OF CHARLES I. BURNS, 1630.

orders were given that the new seals and coinage should be of "the same form, ordour and impression, as our said darrest Lord and father his seals were maid, with alteration and change of our portrat allanerlie in place of our said darest Lord and fatheris."³ Dickesone, whose services Charles had inherited from James I., was, however, not considered capable of designing the new king's portrait.

At the beginning of the reign, no doubt, Dickesone had not enjoyed any opportunity of personally studying his master, for Charles did not visit Scotland until 1633, but not later than June, 1636, on a demand for small coin, it was settled that the designs for these should be committed to Briot, he being "best experienced with suche livelie impressions";⁴ the reason given being that Charles Dickesone had "not been in use to grave his magesteis face."

The illustration I now give is of Briot's Scottish unit of 1637, which replaced the earlier and meaningless portraits by Dickesone. It is

¹ Burns' *Coinage of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 480.

² Burns, vol. ii, p. 447.

³ Burns' *Coinage of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 441.

⁴ Burns, vol. ii, p. 447.

described by Mr. Edward Burns in his *Coinage of Scotland* as "one of the finest coins in the British series."¹



BRIOT'S SCOTTISH UNIT, SECOND ISSUE. BURNS, 1032.

In the northern kingdom Briot was perhaps assisted in engraving, though not in designing the dies, the less neat specimens being sometimes attributed to his son-in-law, John Falconer,² son of Sir Alexander Falconer of Halkerbourn, by whom some of the coins were initialed; but the sinking of the dies of certain small pieces was unfortunately entrusted to Dickesone, who is said to have intentionally spoilt the portraits out of spite towards his foreign rival, and the ugly three-shilling pieces of 1642 are entirely the work of the less skilled engraver. Mr. Cochran-Patrick gives "a warrant anent copper money of the year 1631,"³ in which the Scottish officials are enjoined to receive "Nicholas Bryot graver of his Maiesties minte in Ingland" and "suffer and permitt him" to set up his engine, etc., for coining. Although, according to Mr. Burns, Briot, on his appointment of the 7th of August, 1635, to the mastership of the Scottish mint, declined to be bound to a residence in the north,⁴ he had, it appears, already paid visits to that country. Amongst the undated manuscripts in the Public Record Office, is one to which in the *Calendars of State Papers*,

¹ Burns, vol. ii, p. 482, Plate LXXIV, 1032.

² *Handbook of Coins of Great Britain* (British Museum). Attention is, however, called to the fact that it is possible that Falconer merely initialed the coins as acting master of the Mint at Edinburgh in the absence of Briot, *not* as engraver. See Burns's *Coinage of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 463.

³ *Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 75.

⁴ *The Coinage of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 445.

the date "1633?" is tentatively assigned.¹ It is a letter written by Briot to Charles with regard to the confirmation of his English appointment of January, 1633. In this petition he states that the "grant of the office of one of the chief gravers of the Tower having passed the Signet and the Privy Seal, remains in the hands of the Attorney-General by reason of petitioner's absence in Scotland. The king having granted the office of an undergraver to John East, the petitioner prays that his grant may pass the Great Seal before that of East, or that the grants may pass together."

We thus see the constant delays and opposition which surrounded an official appointment in the seventeenth century, for Briot had applied for this post in October, 1630, on the resignation of John Gilbert.² The negotiations had already been some time on foot, for as early as in November, 1628, we read of a "grant to John Gilbert of a pension of £50 per annum for surrender of his patent of Chief Graver of the mint,"³ but the affair was evidently not finally decided until October 13th, 1630, when we find the "minute of a recognizance entered into by Edward Green before Sir Robert Rich, Master of Chancery, whereby he acknowledged a surrender formerly made by John Gilbert of the office of graver of the Irons for the moneys of the late king, held by him jointly with Green."⁴

On October 2nd, 1630, Briot had written complaining that, though a warrant had been sent to the officers of the Mint on the 2nd day of the previous February,⁵ to place him in possession of "sufficient lodging" for his instruments and workmen at the Tower that he might "perform his promise . . . on a proposition about the fabrication of the king's moneys,"⁶ he had never been able to obtain the desired place where he might work. He submitted that he had been "hindered by the Officers of the Mint upon the pretext that

¹ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1633-34, p. 361, vol. cclvi, p. 47.

² *Ibid.*, 1629-31, p. 353, October 2nd, 1630, vol. clxxiv, No. 5.

³ *Ibid.*, Bruce, 1628-29, p. 375, November 12th, 1628, vol. cxx.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1629-31, p. 359, October 13th, 1630, vol. clxxiv, No. 37.

⁵ This warrant is specified as of February 11th, 1629-30, in a subsequent document of June 13th, 1631, published in Rymer's *Fœdera*, xix, p. 287.

⁶ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1629-31, p. 353, vol. clxxiv, No. 4.

he is not of their body and corporation." His letter was finally countersigned, "The King, being well acquainted with the abilities of the petitioner, directs the Attorney-General to call for the joint patent for the Chief Graver of the Irons, and if he finds that His Majesty may without prejudice grant the petitioner's request, he is to prepare a bill accordingly." It was clear that Charles recognised the beauty of the foreign artist's work, but the only immediate result of the correspondence appears to have been the denial, on the 16th of the same month, by the accused officials of the truth of Briot's allegations, and a counter petition on their part that "when he shall give notice to be fitted with his instruments" a commission should be appointed "to report on the trial undertaken by him to be made."¹

However, on the 13th of June, 1631, a fresh edict was issued to Parkhurst, the Warden, Harley, the Master, and Rogers, the Controller of the Mint, making provisions concerning bullion to be given to "Nicholas Bryott an alien or Stranger borne in the Dukedom of Loraine," that his servants should be admitted to the Mint, that he should be allowed time to train them, that a commission should judge his work, and finally, that those appointed should "make certificate unto us" if agreed together or "if you cannot all agree, separately." The king further states that he did, and still does "intend that this sort of Coyne shall have course and be received as our other moneys made by the ordinary way of the Hammer."² To this period we owe the coinage with flower and B, of which I give an example below.



SHILLING BY BRIOT, MINT-MARK FLOWER AND B.

In the meantime, Briot had constantly addressed the king on various propositions concerning the coinage "by mill and engines,

¹ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1629-31, p. 361, vol. clxxiv, No. 51.

² Rymer's *Fœdera*, xix, p. 288.

which will prevent counterfeiting," not only as to the silver currency¹ but also the copper issues, suggesting increased weight and a reformation of "the ugliness and deformities of the stamp in use" for the farthing, and the introduction of a halfpenny² and half-farthing³ in brass or copper. We have much evidence of Briot's work for Charles from 1626 onward, including a warrant⁴ of the 6th of September in that year to "make the Great Seal of England according to a model presented by him to the king," and to receive enough bullion for the purpose. This seal is a very fine example of work, and was in use from 1627 to 1640. Again in September, 1626, we find the order repeated "for making a Great Seal (Wyon, Plate XXVII) in silver, and a Privy Seal and Signet in gold, and a Council Seal in silver for the Queen's⁵ majesty." The Great Seal of Scotland was also made by the same artist in 1627,⁶ when the sum of £60 in silver was provided for the purpose.

The first actual patent concerning the coinage given to Briot with which I am conversant, was dated the 16th of December, 1628;⁷ it granted to him "the privilege to be a free Denizen and also full Power and Authority to Frame and Engrave the first Designs and Effigies of the King's Image, in such Sizes and Formes as are to serve in all sorts of Coins of Gold and Silver." Briot's pattern half-crown, dated 1628, is well known. I do not illustrate it here because it does not come under the head of portraiture, being of the equestrian type; but it is a very artistic performance.⁸

We note that by this time the resignation of Gilbert was in contemplation and semi-officially recognised, and that Briot unofficially takes his place as cuneator. Here we have the renewal of the contest between the milled and hammered methods,⁹ first started by Mestrell

¹ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1628-29, p. 428, vol. cxxiv, No. 68.

² *Ibid.*, 1629-31, pp. 353-354, vol. clxxiv, No. 7.

³ *Ibid.*, 1628-29, p. 428, vol. cxxiv, No. 68.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1625-26, p. 573, Appendix, September 6th, 1626.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Appendix, September 6th, 1626.

⁶ *Devon's Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 356.

⁷ *Rymer's Fœdera*, xix, p. 40.

⁸ *Evelyn*, p. 107, considered it a medal to commemorate the Rochelle expedition.

⁹ The word "milled," now generally applied to the graining of the edge of coins, is

under Elizabeth, carried on by Briot throughout the reign of Charles I., and by Simon and Blondeau in the days of the Commonwealth, only to be finally decided after the Restoration in the triumph of Roettier. The competition between Briot and his opponents began in 1628 and was still at its height ten years later, in June, 1638, as is shown by the following letter from the king to some of his officers at the Tower. "We are resolved to have a fair trial what despatch may be made in the fabrique of our moneys by mills and presses moved by Nicholas Briot, in comparison of the ancient way of the hammer, and to that purpose we commanded our pleasure to be signified on the 28th of May last, and have since been moved on behalf of Briot to proceed to this trial according to the commission of the seventh year of our reign, when Sir Robert Harly was our officer in the mint. As the proceeding on that commission will not give such present despatch as we might expect, our pleasure is that the first thing to be done shall be the trial of despatch according to our directions of the 28th of May, and we require you to proceed therein without delay or further excuse on either party, and when this is done, the commission shall be proceeded upon as desired on behalf of Briot."¹ We are not told the result of this trial, though to it we, no doubt, owe the beautiful series with mint-mark anchor, but, clearly, the speed of the mill cannot have been demonstrated to the satisfaction of those concerned, for the hammer continued to hold its sway in the main, although we have early evidence that Charles I. was in favour of a milled currency. There is a document in the Public Record Office which is undated,² but the abstract of it has been assigned in the *Calendars of State Papers*, with a query, to the year 1633, though personally having seen the original manuscript itself, I think I am justified in suggesting that it should be dated 1630. It is a petition by Green to have a warrant issued for the execution of certain pieces of milled money, and commences with the words "Whereas yo^{re} Mat^{ie} is pleased that some of yo^{re} money both of gold

here used in its older sense, and understood to imply the introduction of mechanical pressure. See *Num. Chron.*, New Series, vol. v, pp. 298-312.

¹ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1637-38, p. 498, vol. cccxcii, No. 37.

² *Ibid.*, 1633-34, p. 361, vol. cclvi, No. 46, undated.

and silver shall be fabricated by way of press and millinge, and also to have pieces of gold of xx^s and of iii^l embossed high, and prest in an engine of a less compass than the xx^s pieces now made, but of the same standard and according to the forme of pieces of yo^re Mat^e now current, and of the same forme yo^re Mat^e hath seene and approved, and remaineth in the hands of the Warden of the Mynt," etc.

I am not acquainted with any three-pound piece answering to this description, but surely the example remaining "in the hands of the Warden of the Mynt" must be the gold twenty-shilling pattern in very



UNIT OF CHARLES I. RUDING, XIII, 4.

high relief which, excepting in some slight details of dress, closely resembles the current coinage of the year 1630, *see* Ruding, XIII, 4 and Kenyon type 2. It bears the new reverse decoration, an oval shield which had only just come into use, and first appears upon a proof in the British Museum bearing the mint-mark heart, though only given by Mr. Kenyon with plume or rose. These patterns "embossed high" and representing the king crowned, as on the coins, are dated 1630, bearing the mint-mark heart, or undated, excepting by the mint-mark plume of the same year. An example is here illustrated from the National Collection.



HIGHLY EMBOSSED PATTERN WITH CROWNED BUST: MINT-MARK PLUME.

There are better executed patterns for twenty shillings in equally high relief but adorned with an uncrowned bust, and these lead us to a culminating point of interest in the magnificent five-broad piece, usually known as the Juxon Medal, now in the British Museum. They are all, and I had always thought rightly, from their general



THE JUXON MEDAL, *MED. ILL.*, P. 374, NO. 270.

likeness to his badges and known work, attributed to Rawlins, but I have been puzzled by the difficulties involved in the date. The five-broad piece bears the mint-mark rose, that is to say, 1631; the pattern sovereigns of the same type have the mint-mark lys or plume, both of the year 1630.



HIGHLY EMBOSSED PATTERN FOR TWENTY-SHILLINGS. MINT-MARK PLUME,
UNCROWNED BUST.

Now if we accept the suggestion made, with a query, by Mr. Warwick Wroth in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, that Rawlins was born in 1620, he cannot have been old enough in 1630 to produce work which, if his, must be classed as almost his best. The convincing evidence for Mr. Wroth's hypothesis lies, as he courteously informs me in the fact that when Rawlins first published

his tragedy¹ entitled "The Rebellion" in 1640,² he was addressed in various congratulatory verses appended to the play as a very young man³—"a springot of thy tender age," etc. One friend alludes to "the disproportion 'twixt thy lines and years," and he himself in his dedication begs to be excused any shortcomings because "thou knowest that youth hath many faults whereon I depend." Indeed, it is stated by all the writers on dramatic subjects whose books I have consulted, some being almost contemporary with our playwright, that he was very young when he wrote his play. It is, of course, possible that it was composed some years previously to the date of publication, and from internal evidence such as the place where it was first acted, it is believed that Rawlins produced it in 1637,⁴ when it was played "nine days in succession and divers times since with good applause,"⁵ but it is not likely that the adulatory verses were written before the first performance, even if they preceded the publication of the drama. If then Rawlins was almost a boy in 1637, it is difficult to suppose that he was doing admirable medallic work seven years earlier.

Different dates have been given at various times as the most probable for the birth of the engraver. "About 1600" is the suggestion thrown out in *Medalllic Illustrations of British History*,⁶ but this, I learn, is an unfortunate misprint for 1610. The book, though of the greatest value to collectors, was originally written at a time when the names of Edward Green and other engravers were unknown to the numismatic world, and many of the sources of information now within our reach were not at the disposal of its joint authors—let us therefore seek a more decided pronouncement. Nagler

¹ Republished in *Ancient British Drama*, vol. iii, p. 544 *et seq.*

² Entered at Stationers' Hall November 20th, 1639, and published in 1640 and 1654. See Aber's *Transcripts*, vol. iv.

³ *Ancient British Drama*, vol. iii, p. 546.

⁴ *History of English Dramatic Literature*, vol. iii, p. 161, by A. W. Ward, and *Chronicle of the English Drama*, by G. Fleay, vol. ii, p. 169, where it is stated that there is no exact evidence as to the first production of the play, but the King's Company of Revels probably took the Bull Theatre in 1637, and it was there that the play was produced.

⁵ *Ancient British Drama*, vol. iii, p. 572.

⁶ *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 736.

gives 1610 without the qualifying question, but without stating his authority. Would that we knew whence he derived his information, for it does not agree with the opinions of the dramatic writers, and surely a man of thirty, or even seven and twenty, is no "springot of a tender age"?

Very little is definitely known about Rawlins. True, the name thrice occurs in the *State Papers* of the years 1629 to 1633, when a certain Thomas Rawlins makes difficulties over the resignation of a patent in reversion from "His *late* Majesty" of the office of surveyor and keeper of the Armoury,¹ but it seems more likely that this was another person of the same name who is frequently mentioned under the reign of James I., and was high sheriff of Essex in June, 1605,² and therefore cannot be our Thomas Rawlins, who survived till 1670, but was more probably his father, grandfather, or uncle.

We know that when Rawlins wrote his play, he was already in receipt of good emoluments as an engraver, for he says in his preface that he has "no desire to bee knowne by a threadbare cloake [of a poet] having a calling that will maintaine it woolly."³

In *Medallic Illustrations of British History* we read that he was appointed engraver to Charles I. in 1643, and a warrant preserved at the College of Arms⁴ is addressed to him as "our graver of Seals, Stamps, and Medals" on June 1st, 1643. Nagler gives the date of his attaining to the office of chief engraver as 1648, whilst the *Dictionary of National Biography* mentions the twenty-third year of the king, *i.e.*, between March, 1647, and March, 1648, but not one of these facts helps us as to what Rawlins was doing in 1630—or tells us whether he could have been amongst the men working under Green at the Mint so early in the century.

That the petitions on the subject of the highly embossed patterns

¹ *Cal. of State Papers Dom.*, 1629-31, p. 132, vol. cliv, No. 14, undated (1629?); and 1631-33, p. 499, vol. ccxv, No. 35 undated (1632?); and *ibid.*, p. 512, vol. ccxxxi, January 11th, 1633, *docquet*.

² *Ibid.*, 1603-10, p. 223, vol. xiv, 36.

³ "The Rebellion," published in *British Drama*, vol. iii, p. 546.

⁴ MS. 1, 26, fol. 90, College of Arms; reference to MS. kindly supplied to me by Mr. W. J. Hocking. Printed in full in *Num. Chron.*, 1st Series, vol. xv, p. 81.

are put forth by Edward Green and not by Rawlins, would not disturb us, were the date satisfactory, for the office of chief engraver, though it included the responsibility for the designs, did not necessarily entail that the work should be that of the head official. Green in his petition asks "that yore servant and such as shalbe employed in the service may have reasonable recompense and satisfaction for his and their paynes according to former precedents."¹ Again in 1631 (?) we find a warrant concerning the coinage giving permission to Sir William Parkhurst "to impress a sufficient number of workmen for Green's assistance."² But was Rawlins amongst these workmen, and if not, who but Green could have been the engraver of the highly embossed pieces, some of which are undoubtedly above his capabilities as evidenced by the coins?

Assisted by Mr. Grueber who, now as ever, generously placed his help at my disposal, I have made a careful inspection of the work of Green upon the coinage, of Rawlins in his signed medals in high relief, and of such few "highly embossed" examples as we find from the hand of Briot, comparing one with another, with the result that Mr. Grueber's concurrence justifies me in throwing out the suggestion that the patterns should be divided into two groups:—one, comprising the crowned specimens of mint-mark heart and plume with their likeness to the coinage of the moment in point of portraiture, of lettering, and of design, to be credited to Edward Green, whilst the other, which is represented by the far superior Juxon Medal of 1631 and its smaller prototypes of 1630, might in default of Rawlins be assigned to Briot.

The work upon the *Return-to-London* medals,³ one of which I here illustrate, may be compared by the reader with the five-broad-piece with satisfactory result, and it seems to me not impossible that Edward Green, ordered by the king to produce a "highly embossed" currency, should have himself designed the less graceful crowned specimens, whilst Briot, who was, as we have seen at the

¹ *Public Record Office State Papers*, vol. cclvi, No. 46. Undated in the original MS., but dated 1633 (?) in the Calendar of 1631-33.

² *State Papers Dom.*, 1631-33, Bruce, p. 214, vol. ccv, No. 3.

³ *Med. Ill.*, i, pp. 266-7, Nos. 62 to 63.

period of the lys and plume mint-marks, trying his experiments at the mint, may in co-operation or rivalry have put forth the better



RETURN-TO-LONDON MEDAL, 1633, BY BRIOT, *MED. ILL.*, VOL. I, P. 267, NO. 63.

uncrowned series. In support of my hypothesis, I may call attention to the strong likeness between the heads upon these patterns and on some other rare examples bearing Briot's own mint-marks and initial, such as No. 283 on Plate IX of the Murdoch sale-catalogue of June 10th, 1903, dated 1630, mint-mark St. George,¹ or the fine pattern for a crown here shown. The Montagu specimen of this coin, which was sold on November 15th, 1896, for £50 (Lot 394) was described as "the chef d'œuvre of Briot," and the Murdoch example—Lot 294—realised even a larger sum, namely £61.



BRIOT'S PATTERN FOR A CROWN.

There are many other pieces undated and of less good workmanship and lettering, call them medals, intended half-crowns, or what you will, *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 372 to 374, Nos. 265 to 268, always with the same head, which is occasionally also found rather more highly finished

¹ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 258, No. 45, Plate XXI, 5.

upon boxes, containing counters, ranging from the years 1632 to 1636.¹ All these have been attributed, probably rightly, to Rawlins, who reproduced the portrait upon many of his badges, some of which were not cast until 1648-9, *ergo*, after the death of the French artist; but Rawlins, clearly, often copied Briot's work, and must indeed, if half the medals and patterns known by his name be his own work, have been a very unreliable artist. One cannot refrain from wondering whether the description given of him by Evelyn as a "debased fellow"²



LID OF A COUNTER BOX, *MED. ILL.*, VOL. I, P. 380, NO. 288.

may not throw some light on the fact that he, who was capable of such admirable design and detail as are displayed upon some of his signed badges, coins, and medals, could yet be guilty of the inferior finish of many of the specimens for which he is held responsible.

There is one more point to which I should like to call attention in reference to my suggestion, as to the possible co-operation of Green and Briot in the patterns of 1630. Green in the same document³ refers to certain medals, or as he terms them, "Pieces of Coyne made in the manner of Largesses to express the joy of yo^{re} Ma^{tie}s happy issue." These were also to be made "by press and millinge" and must be the little jettons struck in commemoration of the birth of Prince Charles⁴ in 1630, some of which are signed by Briot's initial, and were

¹ The date of the counters in no way serves to date these boxes, because it is not certain that each box contains the set originally designed for it, and, personally, I should be inclined to think my box, though of mid-seventeenth century work, is not so old as the counters it holds.

² Endorsement by Evelyn upon a letter from Rawlins, *Num. Chron.*, vol. iv, 1st Series, p. 124.

³ *State Papers Dom.*, 1633 (?), undated in original MS. at Public Record Office, cclvi, No. 46.

⁴ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 253 and 255, Nos. 34-36 and 38-39. There were similar

therefore clearly made in co-operation with him at the Mint. Amongst the medalettes is a rarer and unsigned type (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 254, No. 37) which is not milled, but which nevertheless has been attributed to Briot, although, as is stated, "it is inferior in style to his usual work." Here, again, I think the hand of Edward Green appears, and in this also, in the fresh light thrown upon the latter's work, Mr. Grueber agrees with my suggestion.



MEDAL ON THE BIRTH OF PRINCE CHARLES, *MED. ILL.*, VOL. I, P. 254, NO. 37.

The petition contains also the expression of Green's willingness "with the assistance of the rest of the Officers of the Mynt, to use the utmost of his endeavours and paynes for to Amend all things amis in the Coynes now made according to yo^{re} Ma^{ties} Royall instruction." May this not point to the wishes of the chief engraver not only to adopt the methods of Briot, but to have the co-operation of one whom, in October of the year 1630, as we have seen, p. 173, he had desired should be associated with him in his office on the completion of Gilbert's resignation?

I have not been able to ascertain that any warrant was issued in reply to Green's petition, but probably it failed, for we have seen the difficulties which encompassed the introduction of the milled coinage, and only a few pattern pieces of it remain to us.

Orders continue to be addressed to Edward Green as chief engraver until the year 1640,¹ and there is reason to believe that he medalettes made on the birth of James in 1633 (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 267-8, Nos. 64 and 65), and I think it is probably on this account, that in the *Calendar of State Papers* the document has been dated 1633 (?), but I hope I have shown that the evidence is stronger in favour of 1630.

¹ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, 1639-40, p. 349, January 18th, 1639-40, vol. ccccxlii.

continued in office until his death, *circa* 1645. Although the last order directed to him, which has come under my notice, is comprised in a warrant for making a new great seal in January, 1639-40,¹ it is likely that Green was willing to retain his post, when in 1642 many of the royal officials were removed from the Tower Mint which had been seized by the parliamentary party, and the more loyal Briot followed the fortunes of the king. Possibly I libel Green, for I have been unable to identify his work on the later coinage of Charles, but it appears that no one was appointed to succeed him until his demise terminated his tenure of office, for the patent² nominating Edward Wade and Thomas Simon as joint engravers in the April of 1645, during the pleasure of both Houses of Parliament, specifies that they are to receive the same "emoluments, diets, houses and advantages" as had been enjoyed by "Edward Green, deceased," without mention of any intermediate possessor.

The king had removed to York on March 19th, 1642, making that city his headquarters for the next five months, and meanwhile Briot was, of course, still at the Tower, but he was called thence on behalf of Charles on May 6th for consultation "at your earliest convenience on the subject of the letter you wrote some days past."³ This letter, written on May 1st, contained a request from the engraver that the king would appoint "certain Lords of the Council to hear his propositions concerning the coinage to whom he may explain the good results which would ensue therefrom to his Majesty and the State."⁴ Briot seemingly replied to the invitation of Charles that he was ill, for on May 30th, Secretary Nicholas wrote again from the North saying that "on account of his late indisposition the king was pleased to direct

¹ Presumably *Wyon*, xxviii, in use from 1640 to 1646. Although this order is addressed to Green as chief engraver, I think there is reason to believe that the work was executed by Simon, then engraving at the Mint, as it is almost indistinguishable in workmanship from the copy he made from it three years later for the Parliament. See p. 209.

² Printed in full by Mr. B. Nightingale in the *Num. Chron.*, 1st Series, vol. iv, 14.

³ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1641-43, p. 316 (in French), vol. cccxc, May 6th, York, 1642.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Addenda, 1625-1649, Hamilton and Lomax, p. 640, vol. dxxxix, No. 87.

his not coming to court at present."¹ On June 21st, however, "M. Briot, his Majesty's graver of the Mint," was commanded to come at once to York, bringing with him all his instruments for coining money,² and he was finally informed that an order had been despatched on the 30th of the same month to Sir William Parkhurst to advance him the expenses necessary for his journey, and pressing him to come speedily.³

The payment was clearly inadequate, for after the Restoration we find the widow of the artist petitioning for relief, or for the sum of £3,000, due from the late monarch to her husband "when he died in 1646,⁴ he having followed the king with the needful stamps to York and Oxford."

We thus follow Briot working for Charles from almost the beginning of the reign and dying in his service. The time of his arrival in this country is usually stated to have been in the year 1625, and though in a letter dated October 2nd, 1630, he complained that he had already "lost six years since he first came to England" without obtaining the official recognition he desired,⁵ thus suggesting that he migrated originally from France in 1624, we must admit that Briot was not always as accurate in his statements, as he was in his work, and it seems likely that he exaggerated the first few weeks, or months, of his residence in London into a whole year. It appears from French official documents that he was still in Paris in May, 1625,⁶ when a delay was specially accorded to him for the arrangement of his affairs, on the expiration of an edict of the previous year relating to this settlement.⁷

¹ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, Hamilton, 1641-1643, p. 332 (in French), vol. cccxc, No. 74.

² *Ibid.*, p. 344 (in French), vol. cccxc, No. 27.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 347 (in French), vol. cccxc, No. 43.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1662, p. 394, vol. lv, No. 100.

Ibid., 1629-31, p. 353, vol. clxiv, No. 4.

⁵ *Les Médailleurs Français*, par F. Mazerolle, vol. i, p. 465, and cxxv: also *Les Médailleurs et les Graveurs de Monnaies*, par Natalis Rondot, édité par H. de la Tour, p. 264.

⁷ *Les Médailleurs Français du XV^e au XVII^e siècle*, vol. cxxiii, Introduction, Mazerolle.

Briot was at this time in such difficulties that his exodus was absolutely a flight. Monsieur Mazerolle in his *Médailleurs Français* places his departure between the 16th of September and the 31st of October, *n.s.*, 1625.¹ I have not been able to discover his precise reasons for giving these dates, but he prints a power of attorney made out by French notaries and signed by Nicholas Briot on the 18th of July in favour of his brother Isaac, and this would probably be one of his last acts before leaving the country.² An attested copy dated October the 11th was produced in court by Isaac on the 21st of October, *n.s.*, and we find him appearing on his brother's behalf during his absence on October the 2nd, *n.s.*, answering to our September the 22nd, and possibly yet earlier.³ We must, therefore, assume that Nicholas Briot writing on our October the 2nd, *o.s.* 1630, was speaking roughly in saying that he had been six years in England, for his departure from Paris cannot have taken place before the 18th of July, *n.s.*, or according to our reckoning the 8th of July, 1625 *o.s.*⁴ But for the constant encouragement he received from the king, he would probably have despaired, for it is said that he left France merely because of the opposition with which his system was there regarded, and his consequent money difficulties,⁵ and he seemed likely to reap no better reward here.

His patterns for the French Mint are well-known and very fine, especially the *piedforts* of 1616 and 1617, and the *essai de franc* and the *demi-franc* of 1618 bearing the head of Louis XIII., executed from a wax model by Guillaume Dupré.⁶ It has been remarked that he produced better work in France than in our country,⁷ and this I am constrained to admit is undoubtedly true, being probably due to the

¹ F. Mazerolle's *Les Médailleurs Français*, vol. i, cxxvi.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 482.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 470 and 472.

⁴ The Gregorian Calendar was in use in France after December 9th, 1582, and in England it superseded the old style in September, 1752, but at the time of which I speak, *i.e.*, in 1625, the difference was of ten days, only rising to eleven days at the end of February, 1700.

⁵ Mazerolle, vol. i, cxxiv and cxxv.

⁶ Illustrated on Plate LXXXVI, No. 54, of Hoffman's *Monnaies Royales*.

⁷ *Dictionary of Medallists*, by L. Forrer (under Briot).

influence exerted over him by Dupré, an artist of a far higher calibre, and perhaps the greatest medallist France has ever produced. Guillaume Dupré, who was *contrôleur général des effigies*, modelled his portraits in wax and cast a series of magnificent medals, but made no puncheons for coins. The pieces of Louis XIII. of 1618, were struck at the *Monnaie du Moulin* by Pierre Regnier from Briot's dies made after Dupré's waxen originals.¹ The complaint lodged by him that Briot did not faithfully carry out his designs, figured as one of the charges made at the French Mint against the engraver in 1618, and again in 1624."²

Specimens of one of the earliest of his signed and dated works executed for Charles I. in England, were distributed at the coronation of the 2nd of February, 1626-27, *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 243, No. 10; but although interesting as such, the medal is not a particularly good example of Briot's skill.

Charles paid £100 on 10th April, 1626, by an order of the preceding November to "Nicholas Breeott, a French graver," for "sundry particulars by him brought, by His Majesty's commandment needful and necessary for the making of Stamps to stamp certain pieces of largess of gold and silver in memory of his Majesty's Coronation, as also for his labour and pains, taken in making and graving certain puncheons for the shaping of his Majesty's picture and the other device upon the said pieces of largess, and likewise for making a little signet for his Majesty remaining in his own custody."³

We notice that in this document Briot is described as "a French engraver"—and as engraver to the French mint he might be properly so-called, but he was really a native of Lorraine, at that time still an independent duchy. Nicholas Briot was born in 1579 or 1580⁴ at Damblain in Bassigny in the Duchy of Bar. He was the son of

¹ Mazerolle, vol. i, Introduction, cxx. See also list of puncheons in Appendix, pp. 620 and 621.

² Mazerolle, vol. i, cxx.

³ Printed from the Pell Records in *Num. Chron.*, vol. iv, 1st Series, p. 182.

⁴ *Les Médailleurs et les Graveurs de Monnaies*, par Natalis Rondot, édité par H. de la Tour, p. 261.

Didier Briot, who was also an engraver,¹ and the purchaser of a lease of the mint at Charleville, where he worked from 1608 to 1611. Didier afterwards removed to Sedan, *circa* 1612 or 1613, when he superintended the "Monnaie" for about eighteen or twenty months.²

Nicholas Briot was sent by his father to Germany to study the machinery there in use, whilst the Charleville mint was under the direction of the elder Briot, and he went again on the same errand for the Duke of Lorraine in 1614.³ Nicholas held the position of *graveur général* to this Prince from 1611 to 1625 concomitantly with the same office in Paris. Monsieur Rondot says that he neglected his functions at Nancy after 1615, and was absent from his post during many years,⁴ but Monsieur Mazerolle notices his activity there in 1620, 1623, and 1624.⁵ Briot was *Tailleur Général des Monnaies* in Paris from 1606 to 1625, but he worked under Dupré, who at first shared with Jean Pillon the office of *contrôleur général*, and on the death of Pillon in 1617 became sole superintendent until his own demise, which took place in 1642 or 1643.⁶

It is thought⁷ that the foreign artist may have owed his introduction to the English court to Theodore de Mayerne, who was invited to England in 1611 to act as physician to James I., and afterward to his son Charles, and who had filled the same post under two of the Gallic monarchs. He was perhaps acquainted with Briot in France, but many years intervened between the arrival of the doctor and that of the medallist in this country. Monsieur Mazerolle informs us that Briot was obliged for a time after his arrival in London to earn his livelihood as a medical practitioner, and may have been thus thrown with de Mayerne.⁸ Be this as it may, we have in the leaden example

¹ "Didier Briot marchand fut adjudicataire en 1608 de la ferme de la monnaie de Charleville. Il en fut depoussédé en 1611 . . . il s'établit à Sedan dont il afferma la monnaie. Outre qu'il avait fait le commerce dans les Flandres il avait gravé des coins de monnaies et de jetons." *Les Médailleurs*, etc., par Natalis Rondot, p. 269.

² Mazerolle, vol. i, *Les Médailleurs Français*, cxi.

³ Mazerolle, vol. i, cxiii.

⁴ Rondot, p. 265.

⁵ Mazerolle, vol. i, cxii.

⁶ Mazerolle, vol. cxxviii, cxxix and cxxxvii.

⁷ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 241, No. 8.

⁸ Mazerolle, vol. i, cxxvi and pp. 484 and 485: "Nicolas Briot estoit retiré en Angleterre. . . Il exerçoit audict royaume la médecine et avoir faict de belles cures mesme

of the medal portraying de Mayerne, an earlier proof of Briot's activity in England, than in any work executed for Charles—inasmuch as the Frenchman's portrait is dated 1625.

Amongst the official documents published by Monsieur Mazerolle, we find the evidence of one Jehan Delanoue or Delanque, who deposed on January 8th, *n.s.*, 1628, that he had heard that during the absence of Nicholas Briot from Paris, then of about two years' duration, he had been engaged in the fabrication of certain pieces with the portraits of the king and queen of England on the obverse, and a design upon the reverse, which he could not recall.¹ The only medalettes which answer to this description are the so-called marriage medals of Charles I. and Henrietta, *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, Nos. 1 to 3. The wedding service in England was performed in June, 1625, shortly before the advent of Briot in this country—the ceremony by proxy, in France, having taken place in May. Some of the medalettes are dated 1626, and were probably intended for distribution at the coronation, but they vary slightly in details and much in execution. A few specimens are struck and are of sufficiently good workmanship to justify me in suggesting that they might be the work of Briot,² possibly made in France for the first ceremony, and freely copied as casts by inferior workmen in England, whilst those dated 1626 are within the scope of his work in London.³

We have seen that Briot's first official patterns for coinage were of the year 1628, but it is hard to decide how far his influence was exerted to effect the improvement found in the ordinary outputs of the Tower, as opposed to the beautifully finished pieces which we associate with his name. We cannot fail to notice that portraiture as practised

qu'il avoit faict et gravé les sceaux du roy d'Angleterre." Evidence of one Bonne, on hearsay from "Philippe Bryot dudict Nicolas," dated January 8th, 1628.

¹ Mazerolle, vol. i, p. 484; "Nicolas Bryot estoit absent de ceste ville de Paris dès et depuis deux ans ou environ et qu'icelluy Nicolas Bryot estoit réfugié en Angleterre ou il travailloit à la fabrication de quelques espèces portans d'un costé la figure du Roy et Royné d'Angleterre et au revers d'une devise dont il n'est memoratif."

² The peculiar lettering of Briot is noticeable on some of these medalettes.

³ Since the above was in print, I notice that Mr. Forrer, in the current number of his *Dictionary*, says that some of these jettons were made by Pierre Regnier (*q.v.*), by order of Louis XIII., whilst others were engraved by Briot, and occasionally bear his initials.

by Green, when Briot was working at the Mint, shows a marked advance upon the busts of the earlier issues of Charles, struck during the period of the joint engravership of Green with Gilbert, and that with some few exceptions, probably the work of Simon, the deterioration of the Tower coinage set in soon after the departure of Briot for York,



UNIT OF CHARLES I., THIRD TYPE, MINT-MARK HARP, 1632.

in 1642, though there is some reason to believe that Edward Green was still in office. On the other hand the sixpences and more especially the shillings commencing with type 1 B, bearing the mint-mark heart, such as Hawkins 512, and in gold with type 1 A of the same mint, and those which immediately followed, namely, plume and rose, clearly show that Green, unhampered by Gilbert, was a very fine



UNIT OF CHARLES I., FIRST ISSUE.

workman in point of execution, though perhaps not in portraiture. Even in this respect some improvement was, however, gradually apparent, for the busts on the unit illustrated by Ruding, on Plate XIII, 4, and reproduced on our p. 177, and the shilling of type 2 B, here shown, are fairly representative of the king as he appeared in the paintings of the time.



SHILLING, HAWKINS, TYPE 2 B, MINT-MARK PLUME, 1630.

The first bust after the accession of Charles is, as we have seen, unlike him, but the succeeding coins of 1626 and the following years, commencing in the middle of the period marked by the mint-mark cross-Calvary, show forth a change of type, and in justice to John Gilbert and Edward Green, who were still joint engravers at that period, it is only fair to state that we notice how much stiffer and less well featured are the early portraits of the young monarch by Mytens, the court painter of the day, who preceded Van Dyck in this office, than are those of the latter artist, and the same stiffness strikes us even in the early medals of Briot of the type with the ruff.

As an example of the grace displayed by Van Dyck in portraying a model who was not really beautiful, I am permitted to reproduce an engraving by Pieter de Jode,¹ from the collection of Mr. W. Sharp Ogden, which, according to the inscription below, is from a picture of Henrietta Maria, by the the court painter. I have been unable to trace the exact prototype amongst Sir Anthony's paintings, but it presents similarities to several, and excepting for the alteration in the pose of the arm, is extremely like the Queen in the large family group at Windsor Castle.

The picture of Charles I. and Henrietta, by Van Dyck, which by the kindness of Lord Craven I am able to here illustrate, is a smaller replica of the better known and large picture in the Duke of Grafton's collection and particularly attractive. The Euston example which has been engraved by Van Voerst² and by Vertue, was reproduced in

¹ Pieter de Jode the younger, born at Antwerp, 1606, engraved many portraits after Van Dyck, and this is, according to Bryan, one of his most esteemed prints.

² Vertue's plate (reworked from that of 1634 by Van Voerst) was engraved in 1742, and is to be found in *Vetusta Monumenta*.



PORTRAIT OF HENRIETTA MARIA, BY VAN DYCK, FROM A LINE ENGRAVING BY DE JODE,
 IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. W. SHARP OGDEN.



PICTURE AT COMBE ABBEY OF CHARLES AND HENRIETTA MARIA, BY VAN DYCK.

Mr. Cust's *Life of Anthony Van Dyck*,¹ and has been exhibited in London. The smaller, and to my mind more beautiful painting, is only one of the many fine pictures at Combe Abbey of the Stuart family by the best artists of the day, for the "Queen of Hearts," Elizabeth, the sister of Charles I., had spent the days of her youth at Combe, then the residence of Lord Harington, and in her last years as the home of the Earl of Craven, it, together with his London house in Drury Lane, became the shelter of herself and her children in their adversity, until her own house in Leicester Fields was ready for her reception. Elizabeth returned to England on the Restoration, and died in February, 1661-62, leaving her pictures to Lord Craven.

Vertue tells us² that at the sale of Charles I.'s collection, "The King and Queen with a laurel" was appraised at £60.³ The picture was painted in 1634, and in the following year a small medal was struck by Nicholas Briot, in three varieties, evidently based on the design of Van Dyck's composition, though the laurel wreath is omitted for want of space.

It is known as "the Children of Charles I." from the reverse decoration, which latter was probably taken from a portrait, now in Turin, of Mary, Charles and James, by the Dutch artist.⁴ The date of

¹ Illustrated on p. 103 of Mr. Cust's book.

² Vertue's MS., *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.*, 23072, f. 21 to f. 27. List of pictures sold at the death of the king.

³ This was no doubt the large example in the Duke of Grafton's collection.

⁴ Illustrated in *Anthony Van Dyck*, by Lionel Cust, facing p. 101.

this picture is 1635, and I think it must have been painted fairly early in the year, for Prince Charles still appears in his long coat or frock, whilst in the varying family groups at Windsor, at Dresden and the Louvre, the little prince has adopted a more manly dress, and yet these examples are still dated 1635. It is said that Henrietta Maria was very particular about the children's clothes, and did not like the sketch now at Paris, because the pinafore of Prince James was omitted.



CHILDREN-OF-CHARLES I., MED. ILL., VOL. I, P. 273, NO. 72.

I may, perhaps, be allowed to quote a modern author with regard to the influence exerted upon the portraiture of Charles by the brush of Sir Anthony. Mr. Cust writes in his life of the painter: "With the arrival of Van Dyck the king appeared transformed. Instead of the rather gawky youth depicted by Mytens, there appears a hero of romance with an indefinable look of destiny and sadness in his eyes."¹ Hence I think it is rather to the example set by the Dutch artist than to the skill in portraiture of the engravers, that we owe the improvement of the third type, for we have noticed that in France, Briot was not the originator of the designs which he engraved, but his co-operation was no doubt invaluable to Green, for his capacity was indisputable. In proof of his confidence in his own skill, I may mention that he was not afraid of entering into competition with Dupré, and offered at Paris to make one puncheon after the wax model of the *contrôleur des effigies*, and another according to his own taste,² and we have at present no evidence that his English coins were not entirely designed by himself.

¹ *Anthony van Dyck*, p. 97, by Lionel Cust.

² "Suivant son jugement." See Mazerolle, vol. cxx.

But to return to the earlier coinage, there is in the British Museum a pattern for a gold crown bearing the mint-mark cross-Calvary, 1626 and 1627, varying slightly from the ordinary type 1 A of *Kenyon*. This little coin is of very fine execution, comparing favourably with most of the earlier work, and I should be inclined to attribute it to Green. In point of portraiture it resembles the usual busts of the period, but not so accurately as it does those which appeared in the succeeding years, beginning with the mint-mark heart and followed by the plume.

We may assume that Charles was not contented with his early presentments, for they were repeatedly changed upon his English coins, until a more satisfactory likeness was produced, probably from Van Dyck's pictures. The monarch had in Nicholas Briot in whom even his detractors allow mechanical skill,¹ an able coadjutor, and both in England and Scotland his really beautiful coinage shows what would be produced by a clever engraver under an artistic king.

²It is said of Charles that he was easy to portray, and Roger de Piles tells us how a blind artist of the seventeenth century modelled a waxen rendering of a marble bust of the king (probably Bernini's original) by the aid of the sense of touch only, and that it was "very like." So good were the portraits executed by this sculptor, whom a

¹ Monsieur Mazerolle calls him "un habile mécanicien," and admits that "comme artiste il ne manque pas d'un certain mérite," though he considers that some of the instruments he claimed as inventor, were merely the mills brought from Germany and improved or adapted in France, and that the process introduced by him into England was simply that in use at the Monnaie du Moulin in Paris. See *Les Médailleurs Français*, vol. i, cxxvii and cxxviii. The Monnaie du Moulin was established in France under Béchet by Henri II. in 1551, and from 1552 onwards dies for coins were engraved there, but on the death of the king in 1559, medals alone were made there with few exceptions until Varin succeeded in re-establishing the milled money in 1639, long after the departure of Briot. See *Num. Chron.*, Fourth Series, vol. ix, 1909, pp. 68 and 83.

² Grainger's *Biographical History of England*, vol. ii, p. 87, ed. 1779, and De Piles's *Principles of Painting*, pp. 200 and 201. In describing the process when working, the artist said, "I feel my original, I examine the dimensions, the risings and cavities; these I endeavour to keep in my memory, then I feel my wax and comparing one with the other by moving my hand backwards and forwards, I finish my work in the best manner I can." De Piles' book was originally written in French in 1708 and translated in 1779.

man afterwards known to de Piles had met at Cambassi in Tuscany, that the Duke of Bracciano refused to believe in his complete blindness and applied the further test of sitting in a cellar, to ensure perfect darkness whilst his own bust was modelled. Of course this Italian had, as he himself expressed it, "eyes at his fingers' ends," but no doubt the fact that this copy of a bust, itself merely the outcome of a picture, tends to show how striking was the face of Charles I., which in its dignified pathos had a trick of impressing itself upon the imagination, hence nearly every portrait of him is unmistakable, not as in Elizabeth's case from the dress and decoration, but from the personality of the man. So much does this strike the eye even in those curious and rare pictures entitled "Black Charles," painted of the king attired as he appeared at the Whitehall trial, that the expression brings the whole scene before us though the colouring is incorrectly rendered.¹ But any further description of the monarch's characteristics would be superfluous here, for his coins and medals are before us.

Owing to the good taste of Charles, there was a complete change in the fashion of dress during the first years of his reign, when the stiff and uncompromising ruff, which had held sway for about a century, gave place to the graceful and falling lace collar popularized by Van Dyck.² Briot gives us examples of both these modes on medals, and also upon a halfgroat, if I am right in attributing to him a pattern here shown, which is extremely rare, for I have heard of only one other example besides my own specimen. It bears the mint-mark heart, and we have seen that he was not regularly established at the Mint until after the beginning of October, 1630, and that his trial coinage was still in

¹ These pictures show the king in a high-crowned hat and clothed in black, holding his staff. The name of "the Black Charles" is owing partly to the dress, but more to the fact that the beard and hair are far too dark.

² This falling lace-trimmed collar or "Valona," as it was called in Spain, was originally a Spanish fashion which came into vogue in Madrid in 1623. A miniature of Charles I., illustrated in *The Connoisseur* for June, 1909, p. 82, portrays him so adorned during his visit to the Infanta Maria, and it is mentioned that he was one of the first to adopt this fashion; but it did not become common in England till after the arrival of Van Dyck.

debate in June, 1631 ; but the workmanship is so entirely that of Briot, that the suggestion is perhaps permissible of the preparation of the die somewhat earlier in the year 1630,¹ just as he made the halfcrown of 1628. If not by the French artist, this halfgroat must be by Green, to whose usual patterns it is, however, far superior.



PATTERN HALF-GROAT OF CHARLES I. IN RUFF.

If I am justified in ascribing this example to Briot it may be taken as a sample of his minute work upon the ruff, whilst the coins, with two distinctive busts, both typical of the period, when the turned-down collar was in vogue, may serve as a proof of the engraver's skill in portraying lace and such details, without overloading with ornamentation. I have given a specimen of the earlier design with mint-mark flower and B on p. 174, and the shilling here illustrated is a variety of the second type, inasmuch as the crown breaks the inner circle, but otherwise it differs little from Briot's ordinary coinage with the mint-mark anchor.

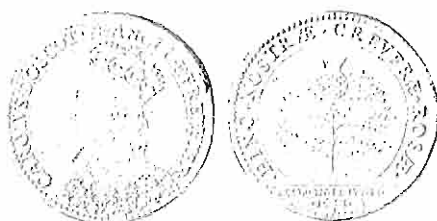


BRIOT'S SHILLING, MINT-MARK ANCHOR, SECOND TYPE.

This English series, with its slightly differing busts, is beautiful both in execution and design, and the king's real appreciation of the artist's talents is attested by the fact that Charles carried his Scottish coronation medal in his pocket.

¹ According to Ruding (vol. ii, p. 459) and Folkes, p. 77, the change from heart to plume took place in June, 1630. Briot had the king's permission to work at the Mint from February in that year (see p. 173), and to make dies for the coinage from December, 1628 (see p. 175).

The specimen here illustrated is of the rare type, struck in both silver and gold, on a thick flan on the edge of which words are inscribed stating that the medal was made from Scottish gold—curiously enough, this inscription appears equally upon examples found in both metals.



SCOTTISH CORONATION MEDAL, *MED. ILL.*, VOL. I, P. 265, NO. 59.

It was not upon the currency alone that Briot exhibited his powers. We have many fine medals and numismatic portraits of Charles and of the royal family, and we know that the engraver even turned his attention to the making of coin-weights, for both king and artist were most anxious to raise the coinage to a high order of merit. These weights include the portraits of the king's predecessors, and those of James I. are so good that it has even been suggested that Briot must have been personally acquainted with his model, but the evidence produced by Monsieur Mazerolle as to Briot's presence in France at a later date than March, 1625, when James I. died, militates against this hypothesis.¹

The love of medals was largely on the increase at this time in England, and it was undoubtedly fostered by Charles, but a great many of this monarch's medallic portraits are memorials cast after his death for purposes of sentiment. Curiously enough, it is amongst such that Evelyn selects those executed by John and Norbert Roettier in February, 1694-5, as being "the most like to his serene countenance,"² a further proof, if any were needed, of the fact that the medallists relied largely on the excellent paintings of Van Dyck and others for their inspiration.

¹ See p. 187, and Mazerolle's *Les Médailleurs Français*, vol. i, cxxvi.

² Evelyn's *Discourse of Medals*, xxxiv, p. 112.

These medals were advertised by the Roettiers for sale "in copper 5s., in copper-gilt 10s., and if bespoke in silver 25s. each."¹ They are described in *Medallic Illustration of British History*, pp. 346-347, Nos. 199 to 202, and No. 201, which I am able to illustrate here, is perhaps as pleasing as any of the varieties. According to Mr. J. H. Burn, the Roettiers founded their portrait upon the picture by Van Dyck used by Bernini in 1638 to help him in making his bust of the king;² but if this be a fact, the painting can only have been copied so far as the countenance is concerned, and not in the details of the costume. The picture in question is now at Windsor Castle;³ it represents Charles in three positions, arrayed in satin garments and a lace collar, this being the dress most frequently delineated by



MEDAL OF CHARLES I. BY JOHN ROETTIER.

Van Dyck, and it is not the same as that represented on the medal, where Charles appears in armour. Bernini's bust, so far as can be ascertained, followed the lines of the picture, but unfortunately the Italian sculptor's work was lost in the fire at Whitehall in 1687-8. A very fine though unfinished line engraving of the middle of the seventeenth century, perhaps the work of Van Voerst,⁴ now in the British Museum, probably represents this work of art,⁵ and there is

¹ *Num. Chron.*, vol. ii, 1st Series, p. 254.

² *Num. Chron.*, vol. iii, 1st Series, p. 179.

³ Illustrated in "Portraiture of the Stuarts on the Royalist Badges," *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ii, p. 52.

⁴ Robert van Voerst, born *circa* 1600, visited England when young and executed several English portraits.

⁵ Since writing the above I find that the subject has been much more ably discussed by Mr. Lionel Cust in the *Burlington Magazine* for March, 1909; he illustrates this drawing, thus making a work which is possibly unique available to the general public.

a marble bust in the collection of Mr. Laurence Currie at Minley Manor which by his kindness I am able to reproduce,¹ and which may, I should think, have been made before the destruction of the original, but singularly fine as these two examples are, they do not specially remind us of Roettier's medal. There are, however, as I endeavoured to show in my paper on the Royalist Badges,² many works of the Carolian medallists, which bear an exact resemblance to this and other pictures by Van Dyck even in the point of dress, whilst the medal in question is more like the equestrian statue at Charing Cross than it is to any of Sir Anthony's paintings.

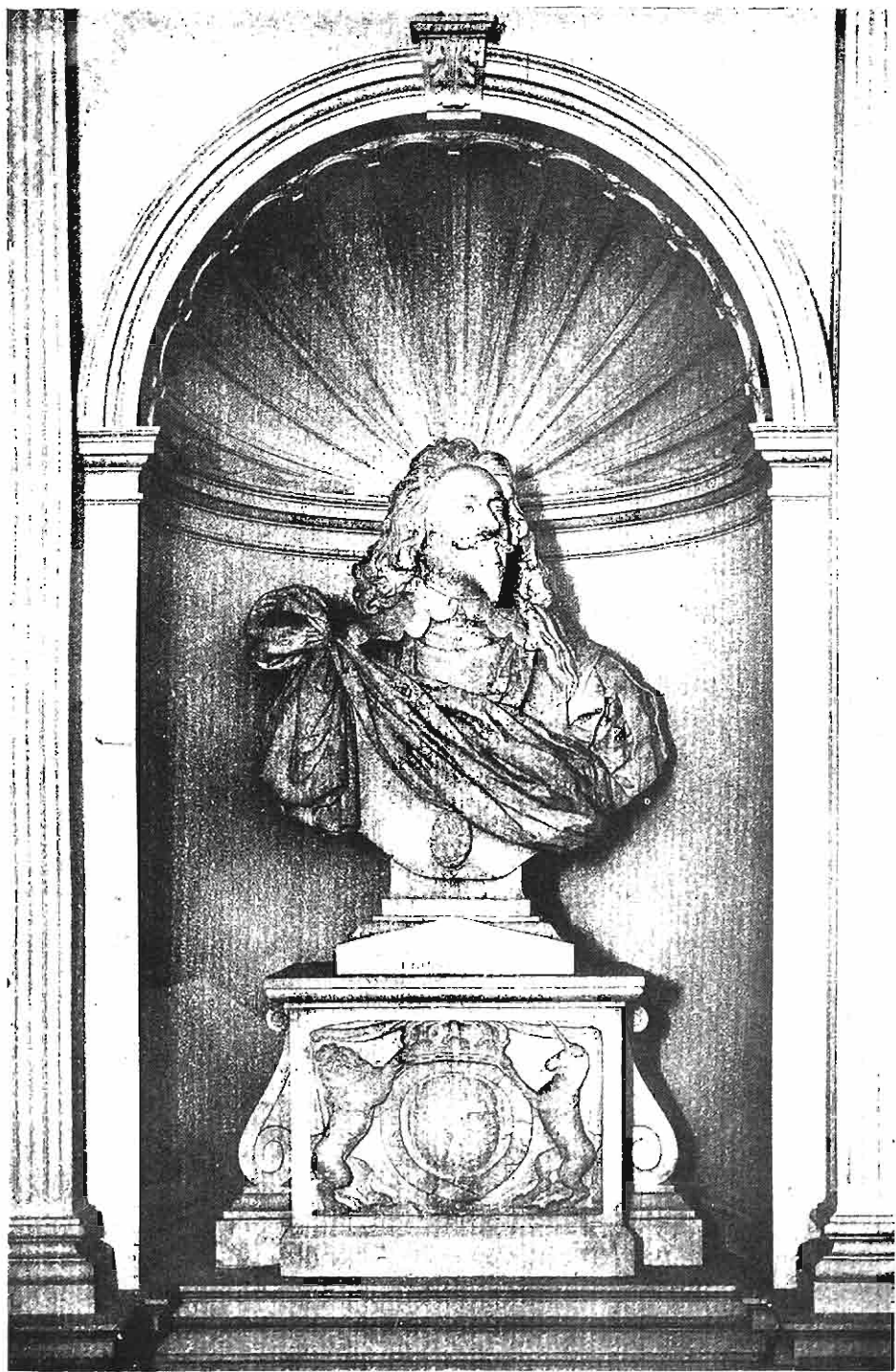
Hubert Le Sueur's statue had a curious history, which though well known as to its general facts, is worthy of repetition in its details. It was originally ordered in January, 1630-31, by the Lord Treasurer, Sir Richard Weston, afterwards Earl of Portland, to be erected at Roehampton,³ or as Vertue, and an eighteenth century edition of a print by Hollar state, for the family of Arundel.⁴ From the various measurements and materials mentioned, it is clear there were several examples of the equestrian statue of Charles I. by Le Sueur. A very small model is mentioned in Vanderdort's catalogue, and Vertue states that Hollar's engraving from Lord Arundel's collection was drawn from the magnificent figure "cast in brass . . . exceeding the proportions in life, being almost 10 feet high," whereas the proposed contract published in full in Carpenter's *Pictorial Codices*, p. 188 *et seq.*, is for a statue in "yeallouw and red copper," little more than life size, in this agreeing with the bronze now at Charing Cross. Peacham in the *Complete Gentleman*, ed. 1634, p. 108, speaks of "the great horse with his Majestie upon it twice as great as life, and now well nigh finished." It seems probable that the Arundel examples engraved by Hollar and quoted by Vertue, *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.*, 23069, f. 20, and the

¹ Mr. Cust remarks on the fact that in the engraving the heavy lock of hair falls on the right shoulder, whereas in the picture it is on the left, but in the Minley bust the picture is reproduced, and I should be inclined to think the engraver reversed it.

² Vol. ii of this *Journal*, pp. 251 and 259.

³ Gardiner's *Civil War*, vol. ii, p. 151, and *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1629-30, pp. 165 and 167.

⁴ Vertue, *Brit. Mus. Add. MS.*, 23069, f. 20.



MARBLE BUST OF CHARLES I. IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. LAURENCE CURRIE.

original ordered by Lord Treasurer Weston, at £600 in 1631, to be completed in eighteen months, are distinct, and that the latter is now at Charing Cross.¹ The abstract of the agreement may be seen in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1629-30, p. 167.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, whether on account of the demise of Lord Portland, which had taken place in March, 1634-35, or for some other reason, the bronze still remained in the premises where it had been cast,² although it was clearly finished in 1633, for it bears that date. After the death of Charles, the parliament ordered that the statue should be broken up, but an enterprising brazier, a man named John Rivet, Ryvett, or Revett, to whom it was sold for the purpose of destruction, quietly buried it. He showed a few pieces of metal as evidence that he had complied with the government's behest, and made a fortune by selling medallions³ bearing the effigy of the king on horseback, as relics to cavaliers, or as trophies to the regicides, implying that he had made them from the molten bronze. The turn of the tide brought back the Stuarts. Revett was able to produce man and horse unharmed, and presented the trophy to Charles II. In course of time, though not until after the death of Hubert Le Sueur (and possibly that of Revett—if we accept the date given by Walpole) the statue found its way to Charing Cross,⁴ where a pedestal was designed for it by Grinling Gibbons, and executed in marble by Joshua Marshall.

¹ It is true that the inscription under Wenceslaus Hollar's print stated, not only that the brass "was made for the Earle of Arundell," but also that it represents the statue at Charing Cross, which passed through the hands of Revett, but this title is not on the examples of contemporary issue, and appears only upon a late edition published and sold by a printer named H. Overton, of the reign of Queen Anne and later, and it is possible that he had no authority for his statement; moreover, the lettering is not by the hand of Hollar, who died in 1677. See *Wenzel Hollar*, von Gustav Parthey, p. 319, and Borovsky's *Ergänzungen zu Parthey's Hollar*, p. 47.

² Walpole's *Anecdotes*, vol. ii, pp. 44 and 45.

³ There exist still some bronze plaques of this type, one of which may be seen in the FitzHenry collection and another was in the possession of the late Mr. F. G. Hilton Price.

⁴ Walpole and Vertue mention the year as "about 1678," whilst Mr. Cust, in the *Dictionary of Biography*, gives 1674 as the date of the erection of the statue; all are agreed in saying it was placed at Charing Cross by Danby, as Lord Treasurer, *i.e.*, between 1673 and 1678. See Walpole's *Anecdotes*, vol. i, p. 44, and Vertue's *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.*, 23069, f. 20; also Dussieux, *Les Artistes Français*, p. 54.

Revett appears to have died by his own hand in 1675, in distressed circumstances. It appears from the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1675-76, pp. 272, 276, and 279, that the estates of "John Ryvett" were forfeited to the Crown in consequence of his suicide in August, 1675, but they were restored to his widow because "the estate being small the king gives it to her for her support." It is not stated whether this grace was in recognition of the preservation of the equestrian portrait. The exact time of Le Sueur's demise is not known, but it is believed that he died *circa* 1652; the date of the erection of the statue is variously given as 1674 or 1678.

The Restoration had in no way abated the desire of the public for representations of the late King, who had been practically canonized owing to his heroic, if at times very impolitic defence of the Church of England, and some of the memorials of this later date are particularly fine. I am able to give a plate of a bas-relief in marble, which, owing to the fact that the companion plaque represents an unidentified divine in the flowing wig of the first decade of the eighteenth century, I am inclined to believe pertains to the reign of Queen Anne. I have been unable to find the exact prototype of this portrait of Charles I., but it bears a strong resemblance to more than one painting by Van Dyck, though the armour portrayed in the marble is of a more ornate and classical type; and apart from this peculiarity it also reminds us of Le Sueur's statue. There are several busts of the king of the beginning of the eighteenth century, such as those at Windsor Castle and at the National Portrait Gallery, and there are examples of a rather earlier date probably made about the time when William III. was anxious to accentuate his relationship to the Stuarts—his portrait forming the pendant, as is the case with the Minley example on our plate facing p. 200.

Anne pursued the same course as her brother-in-law, and some rare medallions are known bearing her head on one side and that of Charles I. on the other. Nor are these the last examples of such memorials, for so long as there remained any hope in the breasts of the Stuarts that they might regain the throne, the portrait of the "Martyr King" was the best card they could play.



MARBLE BAS-RELIEF OF CHARLES I. MEMORIAL, *CIRCA* 1700.

Amongst the most beautiful badges, by Rawlins which may, I think, trace their origin to Van Dyck's pictures, is perhaps the finest of all the medallic portraits of the king.¹ I allude to the obverse of the Forlorn-Hope badge (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 301, No. 122), but as a rule,



DOMINION-OF-THE-SEA MEDAL BY BRIOT, 1630: *MED. ILL.*, VOL. I, P. 256, NO. 41.



DOMINION-OF-THE-SEA MEDAL BY BRIOT, 1639: *MED. ILL.*, VOL. I, P. 285, NO. 97.

Briot's medals show more individuality and originality than those of Rawlins, and I must not omit to mention those cast by the foreign artist to assert the dominion of the sea, *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 256,

¹ Illustrated in vol. ii of this *Journal*, p. 246.

No. 41, and p. 285, No. 97, bearing two differing and admirable busts of Charles.

I would gladly call attention to many other medals, but space fails me, and it is really for the great improvement in the coinage that we owe our thanks to this artist, for the coins struck by Briot in his mill are of a beauty not easily surpassed; his apparatus was not usually applied to such large pieces as those here shown, which are cast and chased, and one cannot but regret that for the greater part of the currency the hammered process still obtained.

The unfortunate reign of Charles I. was so much marred by civil war that we must admire the way in which he maintained the standard of the coinage, never permitting it to be debased,¹ and we naturally cannot look for art or portraiture upon the siege coins, but some of the pieces of the local mints such as York, Aberystwith and Oxford are of a very high order of merit. We must, however, remember that the York mint had been in operation since 1629, and Briot is said to have provided the early dies,² many of which remind me more strictly of the Scottish coinage of his son-in-law Falconer; Briot may moreover have visited it on his first journey to Scotland. It has even been suggested that Thomas Simon was at one time working at York, and that he there attracted the attention of Briot on his way north in 1633,³ but I have been unable to recognise his work, and I am bound to say that the lettering of the York mint, so far as I have studied it, lacks the rather peculiar capital A, characteristic of Briot's work no less than Simon's, but the method of striking is very regular, and the coins are well finished, thus reminding us of the former's coinage.⁴ We have seen that Briot, however, was responsible for the mintage of 1642, in York, and may have remained there, or rather returned thither, for a short period, for his movements between his arrival in the northern county and his residence at Oxford are somewhat uncertain. It is,

¹ Disraeli's *Commentaries on Charles I.*, vol. i, p. 194.

² *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 121.

³ *Num. Chron.*, 1st Series, vol. iv, p. 213.

⁴ It is, of course, impossible to rely solely on lettering in endeavouring to decide the origin of a coin for no doubt the legend was sometimes the work of an under-graver.

indeed, stated that for a time in 1642 or 1644, he revisited France,¹ shortly again to appear in England; there are, however, intervals between his arrival in York in July, 1642, and his death at Oxford in 1646, which remain still unaccounted for.

The mint at Aberystwith had been in operation since 1637, under the able management of Thomas Bushell. The minute finish of some of the smaller coins bears comparison with that of Briot, but the lettering does not recall his work.



ABERYSTWITH PENNY OF CHARLES I.

It is not known whence the Welsh dies were derived, but it has been suggested that they were sent from London, and this seems likely, because the deterioration in the Aberystwith portrait appears to be coincident with the time when the Parliament seized the Tower mint; the king's men, probably Rawlins amongst them, in many cases left their employment, and Briot went to York to join his master.

With regard to Oxford, it is known that Sir William Parkhurst and Thomas Bushell were wardens of the mint,² which was set up in New Inn Hall, on the 3rd of January, 1642-3, under their management. To them an order is addressed on the 18th of May, 1643, for the manufacture of the Forlorn-Hope medal, one of the most beautiful of the badges executed by Rawlins. The plant of the Aberystwith mint had been moved to Oxford *viâ* Shrewsbury,³ in 1642, as is stated in a petition from Bushell: "In 1642 he proposed the discovery of a rich mine, but being required in other ways, brought 1,000 miners at

¹ Mons. F. B. F. Mazerolle's *Les Médailleurs Français*, cxxvii and cxxviii. Monsieur Mazerolle says, "Il revint en France peut-être en 1632 mais certainement en 1644. Le 2 Septembre, 1642, Jean Varin et un certain Briot durent comparaitre devant la Cour des Monnaies . . . S'agit-il de Nicolas Briot ou d'Isaac Briot son frère? Le 20 (?) Avril [n.s.], 1644, Nicolas Briot étant en discussion avec Jean Varin est cité par la Cour des Monnaies."

² Nicholas' "History of Honorary Medals" in his *History of the Orders of Knighthood*, vol. iv, Part II, M. 5.

³ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1661-62, p. 150, vol. xliv, November 18th, 1661.

his own expense to Derby; he also brought his coining instruments and fine silver from Wales to Shrewsbury and Oxford, whereby he was able to coin money for his Majesty," etc. This, however, does not tell us who was the maker of the dies, but some of the coins of 1644 to 1646 bear the initial of Rawlins, and the warrant ordering him to make a special badge for Sir Robert Welsh,¹ is dated Oxford, 1st June, 1643. The coins of this city are less finished and of poorer portraiture in the beginning of the king's residence there than during the succeeding years, but I have noticed the peculiar lettering of Briot on a £3 piece of 1642, and the great hurry might account for the rougher work, though it would be rash, in default of any evidence having presented



OXFORD £3-PIECE, 1644.

itself to me of the early arrival of our artist in the University city, to speak of the possibility that Briot made this or any other coin in particular, at this date. The gold of 1644 to 1646 presents some very fine pictures of Charles, and considering the haste with which plate or bullion had to be converted into coin, we cannot fail to admire, though we cannot with certainty determine the maker.

The improvement in the later pieces may have been due to the advent of Briot, but as a rule the lettering on this better struck coinage does not particularly recall the precision of the French medallist. We cannot, however, rely entirely on the shape of a letter, for occasionally the obverse and the reverse of a coin or medal present contradictory

¹ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 302, No. 124.

evidence in this respect ; see the Dominion-of-the-Sea medal No. 97, where we find a straight topped A on the reverse. In the year 1648, after Briot's death, a medal was struck at Oxford by one Nicholas Burghers, *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, 334, No. 178. He is described as engraver to the University, and as such may possibly have assisted earlier at the Oxford mint, but the only piece of his work which I have seen, a poor specimen in lead, does not bear comparison with the coinage.

In addition to the celebrated Oxford crown for which he is famous we have, of course, many examples of Rawlins's work issued from the Oxford mint which prove his prolonged stay in that city ; such as the hastily-executed Kinton Medal, *Med. Ill.*, i, p. 306, No. 130, the Taking-of-Bristol, 307, Nos. 131 and 132, Peace-or-War, 308, No. 134, all of the year 1643, and the fine medallion in 1644, of Sir William Parkhurst, a very faithful adherent of Charles, Warden of the mint under three generations, James I., Charles I., and Charles II. But it is of no use to enumerate his various works—at Oxford or elsewhere—unless it be to mention that a small and signed medallion of Thomas Harper shows him still active in 1647, for the numerous badges of *circa* 1649 need not be recalled here. He was probably in France for a time between 1649 and 1652, for he records in a letter to Evelyn¹ that they had met in Paris, and the diarist settled in England in the last-mentioned year. But were it not that he made a few tradesmen's tokens between 1652 and 1660, and a medal for Sir Robert Rolles² in 1655, and that we know from the letter to Evelyn,³ which was an appeal for monetary help, how he was imprisoned for debt in 1657–8, we should lose all sight of him until the Restoration recalled him to prosperity.

I cannot stay to speak of the coins of Bristol, which resemble those of Oxford in character, or of Exeter, which present many varieties, specially well struck, for there is nothing very distinctive in the portraiture of the king. We must turn to the Tower of London, now in possession of his enemies.

¹ *Num. Chron.*, vol. iv, p. 123, where Rawlins's appeal to Evelyn is given in full.

² *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 420, No. 59.

³ Rawlins wrote to Evelyn from the Hole in St. Martins ; see *Num. Chron.*, 1st Series, vol. iv, p. 124.

The greatest artist to be found in England in the middle of the seventeenth century was Thomas Simon, who was working at the Royal Mint when it was finally seized by the Parliamentarians in 1642. It is therefore curious that almost all the coins struck at the Tower with mint-mark triangle-in-circle, and those following thereon, should be of very inferior workmanship. But whilst turning over some shillings at the British Museum, I came across two of mint-marks (P), 1643, and eye, 1645, respectively so fine, that I think they may be fairly attributed



SHILLING, MINT-MARK (P).

to Simon. I am glad to have the privilege of illustrating these coins, which present the bust then in use, though in execution they are very



SHILLING, MINT-MARK EYE.

superior to the ordinary issue of the day, and it is possible Simon made the first die and that it was more roughly copied by his colleagues. The peculiar A s of Simon are noticeable upon these fine examples, and are like those used by Briot, though perhaps a little straighter, but so far as I can judge, they are seldom, if ever, found on specimens executed by Green or Rawlins, for the two latter almost invariably made the A with a pointed or square top, whereas Simon and Briot sloped the letter at a one-sided angle on the top of the upstroke. The joint

appointment of Thomas Simon with Edward Wade to the post of chief engraver was, as we have already seen on p. 185, of the year 1645, and it has been suggested that the coinage bearing the king's bust was not issued after 1646, inasmuch as no fresh mint-mark follows that of the sceptre. But this, I think, is a mistake, for it was not until 1649 that the type was replaced with a design which gave no scope for the talent of a great artist,¹ and a hiatus of three years would have to be assumed, whereas there is some reason to believe that the coins bearing the mint-mark sceptre, with two, if not more varying portraits of Charles, extended over the period from 1646 to 1649. By the courtesy of Mr. Hocking I am informed that the Masters' and Workers' Accounts for that period were not for the financial year only, as was usually the case at the mint, but from April 1st, 1646, to May 15th, 1649, and Ruding remarks that there was a great demand for money during those years.² We may also note that Sir Robert Harley, Master of the Mint, does not seem to have objected to coining money bearing the king's effigy for the Parliament; indeed, his dismissal on the 16th of May, 1649, was occasioned by his refusal to do otherwise.³ It, therefore, remains a problem why Simon should have been so little employed upon the coinage, which until *circa* 1649,⁴ was presumably left in the main to the tender mercies of Wade, but the answer may lie in the fact that a great amount of work had to be executed not only upon the great seals, but upon those for the Courts of Justice, and various other public offices. We learn that Simon was the maker of the great seal ordered by Parliament in 1643,⁵ to replace that sent to York⁶ by the Lord Keeper Littleton for the use of the king in June, 1642,⁷ and but for the

¹ It is clear that Simon was employed in making dies and puncheons for the Commonwealth, for in a manuscript list of his works, now at the Royal Mint, he enumerates thirteen specimens, "six of the old Parliament, seven by the order of his Highnesse." *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 96; "Simon's Coins," W. J. Hocking.

² Ruding, vol. i, pp. 404 and 405.

³ Ruding, vol. i, p. 408, and Folkes, p. 94.

⁴ Simon is mentioned as Sole Chief Engraver from 1649 onward, so Wade must have been superseded unless he resigned or died.

⁵ Wyon's *Great Seals*, Plate XXIX.

⁶ Wyon, Plate XXVIII, p. 86.

⁷ Clarendon's *History of the Great Rebellion*, ed. 1843, p. 230.

substitution of the date 1643 for that of 1640 upon the original seal, it is an accurate copy of its predecessor. When the latter eventually fell into the hands of the Parliament, on the surrender of Oxford in 1646, it was at once broken up.¹ Simon received £100 for making the seal of 1643, £40 to be paid in advance, and £60 to follow on the completion of the work.²

Shortly before the death of the king, when it was thought necessary that the royal effigy should be removed from the coins and seals, Simon was entrusted with a commission to engrave the great seal of the Commonwealth,³ and £200 was promised to him for that purpose.⁴ Such speed was exacted that it was a very poor performance, for less than a month elapsed between the time when the design was approved on January 9th,⁵ and February 7th, 1648-9, when it was brought ready for use into the House of Commons, and the final order had only been delivered to Simon on January 26th.⁶

In 1651, the engraver replaced the original seal with a much finer example following almost the same lines,⁷ but in a superior manner, and this great seal⁸ remained in use until a better opportunity was afforded to Simon, of showing his skill in portraiture by engraving the equestrian figure of Oliver Cromwell⁹ in February, 1655, and again in 1657, a design which required but the change of the head to serve for Richard Cromwell in 1658.¹⁰

We must, however, revert to the lifetime of Charles I., and note his personal influence in these matters. Simon had chosen his lot; Briot and Rawlins were the only men of skill available at the outset of

¹ Allan Wyon's *Great Seals of England*, p. 88.

² Wyon, p. 89.

³ Wyon, Plate XXX, p. 91.

⁴ Vertue's *Medals*, p. 3.

⁵ Wyon, p. 92, and Vertue, p. 5.

⁶ Vertue's *Medals, Coins, etc., of Simon*, p. 2, *Die Veneris 26th Januarii*, 1648. "Ordered that Thomas Simon be hereby authorised to engrave a Seal according to the form formerly directed."

⁷ Wyon, Plate XXXI.

⁸ For the seals of 1649 and 1651 together, Simon appears to have received £300. The *Calendar of State Papers Dom.*, 1651-52, p. 588, contains the following entry:—"To Thos. Simon for cutting Great Seals and materials, £300, Jan. 21st, 1652."

⁹ Wyon, Plate XXXII, p. 96, and XXXIII, p. 97.

¹⁰ Wyon, *Great Seals*, p. 98, Plate XXXIV.

the king's wanderings, and Rawlins appears to have possessed a special talent for making the badges required during the campaign. Without, therefore, placing him on a level with his rivals we may admire the high relief exhibited upon these pendants, which occupied more or less the position now held by the war medal. Many of these badges are



CIVIL WAR BADGE BY RAWLINS, *MED. ILL.*, VOL. I, P. 357, NO. 222.

singularly beautiful in the way of portraiture, such as *Med. Ill.*, I, p. 357, No. 222, and some are noted for their graceful ornamental borders such as the example here illustrated, whilst others are but rough copies made by inferior artists. The badge was the reward, or distinctive mark,



CIVIL WAR BADGE IN PROFILE BY RAWLINS, *MED. ILL.*, VOL. I, P. 355, NO. 218.

given by the leaders to their followers during the Civil War, but of its origin and development I have spoken at length in my paper on the Stuart badges.¹ I there dwelt upon the fondness of the king for medallic portraits, so I will not discuss the matter here further than to draw attention to the fact that even in his adversity Charles, who was

¹ "Portraiture of the Stuarts on the Royalist Badges," *Brit. Num. Journal*, vol. ii, pp. 243-290.

usually most unsuccessful in the choice of his ministers and generals, displayed great acumen whenever an artist was concerned. The king, though he had not the leisure to study sufficiently to attain any personal excellence as a painter, could place his finger on the slightest mistake in a drawing, and the artistic instinct never failed him when he was left to use his own judgment uninfluenced by others.

Vertue¹ tells a story of a discussion as to the painter of a certain picture: "The king asked, 'Whose hand was that?' Some guessed one, others were of another opinion, but none were positive. At last, said the king, 'This is of such a man's hand, I know it as well as if I had seen him draw it, but' (said he) 'is there but one man's hand in this picture?' None did discern whether there was or not, but most concluded there was but one hand. Said the king, 'I am sure there are two hands, for I know the hand that did the heads, but the hand that did the rest I never saw before.'" Vertue then relates how, on inquiry, it was ascertained that the picture had been seen in Rome some ten years before with the heads only finished, and on the death of the painter, his widow, "wanting money, got the best master she could to finish it and make it saleable." "This," concludes the narrator, "is strong proof of the king's judicious skill in so critical a point of art."

With so good a judge of their productions, can we wonder that painters put forth their best powers for his approval, and we must admit that the path of the numismatic artist was made easy by the numerous faithful and beautiful portraits of Charles, the works of Van Dyck, and also by the good features and marvellously serene expression of the royal countenance. Moreover, Charles was himself a lover of medals, and as such we owe him our thanks, his tastes having been early directed to the acquisition of such art treasures by his brother, Henry, who left him his collection.

One cannot help wondering whether, had Prince Henry lived, the course of events would have been changed. According to the description left to us of this young man, he seems to have been a very paragon. Foscarini calls him the "peer of Henry of France [Henri IV.] in

¹ Vertue, *Brit. Mus. Add. MS.*, 23072, f. 43B.

greatness, magnanimity, and valour," but the virtues of those who die at an early age, all untried, are often magnified by their biographers, and possibly Henry would have been no more fitted than was Charles, to control the current of Puritan doctrine which precipitated the Rebellion. But Henry, like his brother, in his ardent love of religion, was yet unlike him in his sympathies. He was anti-Catholic, and was regarded by the advanced party as a likely reformer of the Church. Also, he was possessed, even at the age of eighteen, of a remarkably strong character,¹ and enjoyed such extreme popularity, that his father was jealous of him, and feared rather than loved him. Possibly he might have led the Puritan movement, which resulted in the civil war, rather than have tried to stem the torrent in its course, a feat unsuccessfully attempted by his unfortunate, though equally conscientious brother.

Had Henry lived, we cannot doubt that his currency would have been beautiful, for his face, which strongly resembled that of Henry V., was as comely as his figure; so, at least, we are always informed, and such pictures as remain to us, especially the fine miniatures by Isaac Oliver, bear out the rather extravagant praise of his person written at the time of his death. The admirable portrait in profile by this artist in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch, of the young prince in Roman costume, would have made a splendid model for the coinage.² The well-known prints of the Prince of Wales, published after his death by Simon van de Passe in 1612, and in Drayton's *Polyolbion* by Holle in 1613, were probably both executed from a common original, now no longer extant, but once at Whitehall. They show forth the excellence of Henry's features and the grace of his figure so well that we much regret that the artists did not reproduce their engravings in the form of medals, though amongst the counters attributed to the school of Simon van de Passe³ is a very poor, but faithful reproduction of his print. It

¹ De la Boderie, writing to France whilst on an embassy to England, in 1606, says of Henry, "He is a Prince who promises very much and whose friendship cannot but be one day of advantage." Birch's *Life of Prince Henry*, p. 69, quoting *Les Ambassades de la Boderie*, p. 59.

² There is another fine profile of the Prince, an engraving by Holle, representing the effigy upon the funeral car, in Chapman's *Epicæde*.

³ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 379, No. 281. See illustration on next page.

is possible that Holle or Charles Anthony may be responsible for the two really good medallic portraits of Henry which still exist, and of one of these I possess a very fine example, in gold, which I here illustrate. The beauty of the workmanship suggests the hand of the makers of James I.'s best gold coinage of Charles Anthony, or still more, perhaps



COUNTER OF PRINCE HENRY, *MED. ILL.*, VOL. I, P. 379, NO. 281.

of Holle, recalling the rose ryals of 1619. It is, however, not known whether he was employed in a subordinate capacity at this early date at the mint, for we have seen that he only became cuneator in 1618, whereas the medals, though undated, must have been executed before 1612—the year of the prince's death—at which time Anthony still occupied the chief post. From the shape of Henry's collar and his



GOLD MEDAL OF PRINCE HENRY, *MED. ILL.*, VOL. I, P. 200, NO. 29.

generally youthful appearance, I should be inclined to suggest that he is represented at about the age of nine, for though these open collars are still to be found upon a few of his later portraits, such as the beautiful miniature by Isaac Oliver in¹ Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan's collection, the mode even in these is slightly changed, the hair much longer and freer, and the medal more nearly resembles the picture, now at Hampton

¹ Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan's Catalogue, by Dr. George Williamson, vol. i, Plate 13, No. 45, p. 53.

Court, of Prince Henry assisting at the death of a stag, which is said to be of 1603. Henry was made a Knight of the Garter, in the July of that year, two days after his arrival at Windsor; he wears the order in the picture, but, it will be noticed, not in the medal, and as the medallist can scarcely have executed his work so shortly after Henry's advent, it appears to me likely that it was copied from a picture and struck in anticipation of his coming. As Holle predeceased his king, James I., Henry would have been indebted to Gilbert and Green for his early coinage, had he survived to require it, but he displayed a knowledge of the arts and a love of numismatics so great, being amongst the first royal collectors of medals, that one feels that in after years Thomas Simon would have put forth his best efforts for the prince as he did for Cromwell, and that in Henry he would have had a better model and perhaps a more appreciative critic, than in the rough soldier with his rugged features and contempt for appearances.

Oliver Cromwell, as Lord Protector, had no prescriptive rights, nor indeed any right, save that given him by the Council, to place his portrait on the coinage; and as he was neither Stuart nor monarch I have, perhaps, no occasion to cite his patterns here, but I do so in order to carry the chain of Simon's history unbroken to the reign of Charles II.

The excellent articles published by Mr. T. H. B. Graham in 1908¹ on the silver coins of Cromwell, and by Mr. W. J. Hocking in the following year² describing the work of Simon at the mint, have given us so much interesting detail concerning Oliver's portrait series that it would be useless for me to add, excepting from the artistic or personal point of view, to a question already far more ably discussed.

The Protector's coins are dated 1656 and 1658 and, as we find in repeated orders, were made with the consent of the Council. They were so much admired that they were shortly regarded as curios, the crowns being sold even in the days of Pepys³ in 1663 for so much as 25s. to 30s. He speaks of them thus: "Upon my word those of the

¹ *Num. Chron.*, Fourth Series, vol. viii, pp. 62 to 79.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ix, pp. 91 to 118, by Mr. W. J. Hocking, to whom I am indebted for much information.

³ *Pepys Diary*, March 9th, 1662-3.

Protector are more like in my mind than the king's, but both very well worth seeing." They certainly afford a convincing proof of the excellent result obtainable by the genius of a great artist, even though the subject be unpromising.



CROMWELL'S CROWN.

From the point of view of the numismatologist, we cannot regret that the opportunity of executing these designs for a projected coinage was afforded to Thomas Simon. According to the popularly received version of the story, the idea of placing his "effigies" on the coinage in 1656-8 was attributable to the ambition of Oliver to assume in all things the status of king, but it is observable that some of the coins were struck after the parliamentary proposal that he should adopt the royal title had been decided by himself in the negative, that none of the patterns bear the word *Rex* instead of *Protector*, that the original stamps and inscriptions for such specimens as are dated 1656 having been contemplated¹ some time before, had already been ordered in September,² and approved as early as November³ 27th, 1656, Simon being ordered to proceed with their manufacture, with the assistance of Blondeau, on December 3rd⁴ and December 11th⁵ of that year, some weeks prior to the attempted assassination,⁶ which gave rise to the official discussion of the matter in Parliament, and finally that

¹ *Cal. State Papers Dom.* July (?), 1656, vol. cxxix, p. 49, No. 86.

² *Ibid.*, 1656-7, vol. cxxx, p. 106, September 11th, 1656.

³ *Ibid.*, 1656-7, vol. cxxx, p. 176, November 27th, 1656.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. cxxxi, p. 187, December 3rd. Proceedings in Council, 1656.

⁵ Vertue's *Medals, Coins, etc.*, ed. 1780, p. 71.

⁶ A man called Siddercombe tried to fire Whitehall on January 8th, 1657, and in the House of Commons a member, whilst expressing his joy at the deliverance of the

Cromwell's portrait, Wyon, Plate XXXII, was already in use on the great seal,¹ so that in placing it upon the coinage he was but taking one step further on a path already trodden by him. It is, of course, possible, nay likely, that Oliver may have ventured upon one of the royal prerogatives to test the feelings of the people in a matter of such importance to himself and the country, and have thus suggested as a move in his political game the offer of the crown, which he most reluctantly declined. It is only fair to state that it is thought that the money was at first intended to be issued as an experiment, for, from the fact that the coinage of Oliver was not described in the proclamation withdrawing the Commonwealth specie from the currency after November 30th, 1661, Ruding deduced that it was never in circulation,² and it has been computed that only about 16,000, at the most, probably not more than 10,000, pieces were issued.³

Preparations, however, were made for a larger coinage, and had Oliver lived an Act would probably have been passed to make the pieces legally current. It had been decided on September 11th, 1656, that £2,000 of bullion, from the Spanish prize⁴ money, should be delivered to Blondeau that he might work from Simon's dies, but a long time elapsed before the result was ready for the use of Oliver or his Council, and the coins of 1656 were not completed before the middle of 1657.⁵

The Protectorate with regal powers had been conferred on Oliver, Protector, first raised the question of making him king. *Political History of England*, vol. vii, p. 444.

¹ Wyon's *Great Seals*, p. 96, quotes an order in Council of February 15th, 1654-5, approving the drawing for the great seal, "which bears the pourtraiture of his Highness," and making Simon "sole Chiefe Engraver for the Mint and Seals and have the fees of . . . per annum annexed to that place." He also refers to the privy seal and others "mentioned in severale orders of Augnst 25th, 1654." He quotes the *Interregnum Papers* 75, p. 683, as containing the orders for this great seal.

² Ruding, vol. ii, note to p. 5.

³ *Num. Chron.*, 1909, by Mr. W. J. Hocking, vol. ix, p. 94.

⁴ *State Papers, Proceedings in Council*, 1656-7, p. 106, vol. cxxx. For "Spanish Money," see *State Papers*, 1656-7, p. 126, vol. cxxx, where it is stated "The Spaniards say there is taken 9 millions of pieces of eight." Edward Blackwell had charge of the prize money, and there are several notices in the *State Papers* concerning it indexed under his name.

⁵ *Num. Chron.*, 4th Series, vol. ix, p. 94.

and he had been inducted with considerable ceremony to his office in December, 1653, but those who upheld him as Protector had no defence against penal prosecution, if the monarchy should be later restored, whilst the followers of a king *de facto* were secured by an Act of Henry VII.¹; therefore some persons had long been ready to confer the royal title upon him. The matter was much pressed in the beginning of the year 1657, then reckoned as 1656, and on March 31st, 1657, "the humble petition and advice," suggesting the adoption of the name as well as the office of king, was presented to Cromwell to be refused by him in a hesitating manner after three days' consideration, and again more definitely declined on May 8th.² But for the opposition openly expressed on behalf of a portion of the army by Desborough, Fleetwood and Lambert, and more privately by sundry others, it is thought that Cromwell would have accepted the offer of the Commons. It was not without a mental struggle that he laid aside his personal ambition, rather than cause division amongst the officers of the sole force on which he could rely, for it was in his troops that his strength lay. We cannot forbear to admire Oliver's sagacity in this matter, even if we doubt his sincerity, but whether or not we think that he was honest therein, in his politics or even in his religion, he was intensely so as regards his personal appearance.

It is said that he told Peter Lely he would not permit him to draw him if he omitted the warts on his countenance,³ saying: "I desire you to use your skill to paint a picture truly like and not flatter me at all, but remark all the roughness and pimples, warts and everything as you see me, otherwise I never will pay a farthing for it." Cromwell, iconoclast as he appeared to be, was no despiser of the arts and realised that a portrait to be good must be true.

It was said of him that "He was a great lover of music, and entertained the most skilful in that science in his pay and family. He

¹ *Political History of England*, vol. vii, p. 442, by F. C. Montague.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 446-448.

³ Walpole's *Anecdotes*, vol. ii, p. 94, ed. 1888. There is however a picture of Cromwell by Lely in the Pitti Gallery at Florence, which greatly flatters the Protector, and the usual warts are barely visible.

respected all persons that were exemious in any art, and would procure them to be sent or brought to him."¹

His appreciation of real talent was shown by the fact that he gave £300 for the Raphael cartoons, and £1,000 for those of Andrea Mantegna,² when they were offered for auction on their annexation by the Government after the death of Charles I., and Cromwell insisted on the retention in their original positions of many pictures belonging to the royal collection, in order that his residences at Whitehall and Hampton Court might not be disfigured.

His various medals by Thomas Simon attest his patronage of the artist. Vertue mentions that amongst the few stone seals known to be the work of this artist, was a specimen bearing "Oliver's head,"³ and I have seen a fine cameo in the collection of gems at Devonshire House which presents a portrait attributed to Simon, much resembling the coins. It is noticeable that when the Parliament wished to pay him the compliment of placing his "effigies" upon the badge commemorating the battle of Dunbar, he was consulted concerning the design, and though feigning an indifference to his portraiture which he can scarcely have felt, he expressed himself clearly on the question. Thomas Simon was sent to Scotland purposely to portray him, and Cromwell whilst writing⁴ that:—"It was not a little wonder to me that

¹ "The Perfect Politician," quoted in Knight's *London*, vol. i, p. 360.

² *Whitehall*, by W. J. Loftie, p. 48. The Raphael cartoons are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Room 94.

³ Vertue's MSS., *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.*, 23070, f. 79. It appears from the account in this MS. that Simon preferred working in relief, and that he "actually made punches for every purpose, being extreme ready at it and liked that way much better than cutting inward; nay, at that time lived Martin Johnson, a seal cutter whose works in seals are very good, and he did cut heads of persons in steel seals very well, but was of opposite temper or practice, for he would not make use of any puncheons but cutt all with tools inward; he was so averse to Simon that he would say of him that he was a puncher, not a graver. Simon was ready at every kind of work relating to his profession modelled in wax, and cutt several famous onyxes and stone seals, particularly Oliver's head," etc., etc. Vertue had this account from one Marlow, who had purchased some of Simon's punches from his widow in 1676, and had many details from a man named Whiteman, whose brother had "learnt to grave of Simon."

⁴ Letter to the Committee of the Army, February 4th, 1550, printed in Simon's *Medals, Coins, etc.*, by Vertue, ed. 1780, p. 74*.

you should send Mr. Symonds so great a journey upon business importinge so little as far as it relates to me," recommended as a personal obligation to himself that the medallist should have that "employ^mt in yo^r service wh^{ch} Nicholas Biott¹ had before him, indeed the man is ingenious and worthie of encouragem^t." We have seen, however, that Simon already held office, though not a life appointment under Parliament;² his joint engravership with Edward Wade has already been mentioned, and Mr. Nightingale, writing in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, quotes a paper which he had seen in the Audit Office Enrolment MSS. as follows:³ "*Die Mercurii* 25th April, 1649,



DUNBAR MEDAL, *MED. ILL.*, VOL. I, P. 391, NO. 13.

Resolved upon the question by the Co^mmons assembled in Parliament that Thomas Symon bee appointed to bee sole cheife Engraver of the Mints and Seales," so that the recommendation seems scarcely necessary. A further indenture dated⁴ two days later, speaks of Simon as "graver of the Irons," whilst the name of John East still appears as under-graver, a post to which he had been appointed in 1633, at a time when Green and Briot were occupying the chief places in the reign of the late king.

The Government had found in Simon an instrument ready to execute any medallic work, and took advantage of the situation as we have seen, but were it not for these and other references to this engraver as holding an important position at the mint, the terms of the warrant given to him by Cromwell might have led one to believe that

¹ The name Nicholas Biott is inserted by another hand.

² *Num. Chron.*, 1st Series, vol. iv, p. 215, "during the pleasure of both Houses of Parliament."

³ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

the artist had waited until Oliver was in power as Protector for official recognition.

This patent given by Cromwell on July 9th, 1656, appoints¹ Thomas Simon "sole cheafe Engraver of ye irons of ye moneyes of us and our successors" at a salary of "£xxx a year" paid quarterly from March the 25, 1655, but also specifies that he is to have the sole privilege of cutting "badges of honor, seals, escutcheons, stampes and armes," and is "to be our medall-maker of the medalls of or belonging to us and our successors, to have and exercise . . . dureing the naturall life of him the saide Thomas Symon, and likewise to have the makeing of all and singular the chaines thereunto belonging."² He was to receive the "fees, rewards, allowance and profits" enjoyed by his predecessors in either office, Anthony, Gilbert, Green, "or any of them or any other engravers or cutters belonging to any King or Queen of England."³ From this document it appears that Simon was to have an extra salary "as our medall-maker" and seal engraver of £13 6s. 8d., "payable and commencing as afores'd"⁴ beyond the cuneator's usual £30 a year specified above. This may partly account for the confusion that is sometimes found with regard to the remuneration given to artists when in charge of the Mint—variously⁵ stated at £30, £40 or £50 a year, though no process of arithmetic will correctly reconcile the figures, for we must see that in this case £13 6s. 8d. is to be added to £30, making £43 6s. 8d. a year, and this is neither one thing nor the other. We only know that Simon was in receipt of £50 a year at the time of his death, and of course the dies were all separately charged by the cuneator at a high price. Amongst the *State Papers*,⁶ for instance,

¹ Printed in full in Vertue's *Medals, Coins, etc.*, ed. 1780, pp. 67-72.

² On July 22nd, 1655, Cromwell paid £410 4s. 6d. to a certain George Altrington "for a chain of gold and a jewel of his Highness' portrait." See *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, p. 589.

³ Vertue's *Medals, Coins, etc., of Thomas Simon*, p. 69; and *Num. Chron.*, 1st Series, vol. iv, p. 220.

⁴ Vertue's *Medals, Coins, etc.*, p. 71; *Num. Chron.*, 1st Series, vol. vii, pp. 43 and 44.

⁵ *Num. Chron.*, 1st Series, vol. vii, pp. 23 and 24.

⁶ *State Papers Dom.*, 1655-56, p. 586, January 18th, 1655-6. Warrants of the Protector and Council.

somewhat earlier in the same year, we find a payment of £300 on account to Simon as "Chief Medall-maker." This may have been inclusive of the bullion used, but Simon sometimes asked £100¹ or more for a medal.

The miniatures painted by Samuel Cooper are said to have been of great assistance to the medallists of his day, but Thomas Simon, though sometimes aided by his brother Abraham, did not really require the co-operation of any other artist. We have seen that he had a personal interview with Cromwell in order that he might make a satisfactory portrait for the Dunbar medal,² but it is stated that the coins were based upon a sketch by Cooper, and there is "a curious limning drawn by Samuel Cooper; the original whereof is preserved in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire," which according to Vertue³ served as a model for a medal struck in 1653.



MEDAL OF CROMWELL AS PROTECTOR, *MED. ILL.*, 1, P. 409, NO. 45.

This drawing, which is on paper, and executed in grey Italian chalk slightly tinted with red, presents a profile to right, reversed on the medal, and shows the Protector in armour faintly indicated and a turned down collar. It is very striking, and more impressive than the medallic rendering where the elaborated dress detracts from the simplicity of the whole. It is the only profile sketch by Cooper with which I am acquainted, and as such is more easily compared with the coinage than his more finished miniatures, with the result that the absolute truthfulness of both artists is established.

¹ Vertue's *Medals, Coins, etc., of Thomas Simon*, ed. 1780; Appendix V, p. 85 *et seq.*

² Vertue's *Medals, Coins, etc., of Thomas Simon*, ed. 1780, p. 74*.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Samuel Cooper's works are perhaps of even more value to us in his inimitable representations of Charles II., for in his case also the oil painters of the day lacked greatly in expression. Evelyn tells us¹ how he held the candle "when Mr. Cooper ye rare limner, was crayoning of the king's face and head, to make the stamps for the new mill'd money now contriving . . . he choosing the night and candle-light for ye better finding out the shadows. During this his Ma^y descoursed on several things relating to painting and graving." In this instance Cooper's drawing was the basis for the competitive coins by Simon and Roettier, resulting finally in the protest of the Petition Crown against its more successful, though less admirable rival, when "the Dutchman's" work was selected for the milled coinage.

To judge by the excellence of these numismatic portraits, the original sketch of the king by Cooper must have been striking in its faithfulness. Walpole compares the artist with Van Dyck saying, "if a glass could expand Cooper's pictures to the size of Van Dyck's, they would appear to have been painted for that proportion; if his portrait of Cromwell could be so enlarged, I don't know, but Van Dyck's would appear less great by the comparison."²

The extraordinary force of the splendid miniatures, of the Protector, of Charles II., and others, which I have seen at Windsor, at Montagu House and in various private and public collections, seem to me almost to justify Walpole's high estimate of the miniaturist powers, and whilst we rejoice that Charles I. had a Van Dyck to bring his features before us in an idealized form, by ever emphasizing the beauty of his expression, we are fain to seek in Samuel Cooper for the strength and power, which is so little seen in the portraits of Oliver Cromwell by Walker and other artists patronised by him.

Evelyn in his *Discourse on Medals* speaks of Cromwell with the bias usual in his day,³ and writes that he finds "the greatest Dissimulation, Boldness, Crime, Ambition in every stroke and touch in the lines of his double face as accurately stamped on his medals by Simon or

¹ Evelyn's *Diary*, January 10th, 1661-62.

² Walpole's *Anecdotes*, vol. ii, p. 145.

³ *Discourse on Medals*, p. 339.

engraved in Taille Douce by Lombard¹ from a picture of Walker's most resembling him."

To me, Robert Walker's paintings generally seem to lack the sternness one expects to find in the Protector's portraits, but they were apparently approved by Cromwell, perhaps partly on that account, for upon an example, presented by Oliver to Christina, Queen of Sweden, he placed an inscription in Latin to the effect that to this "bright star of the Northern Pole" he hoped that his face, though wrinkled with the cares of state, would show that to monarchs he was not "always fierce."² The rare engraving which by the kindness of Mr. W. Sharp Ogden I am able to reproduce, brings Oliver before us with a similarly mild countenance. It is probably a rendering of the very fine picture of which there are examples at the National Portrait Gallery and at Althorp of Oliver with his young page, and it is according to Nagler the portrait "most resembling him" to which Evelyn referred. The Althorp picture was finely engraved by Peter Lombard, by Gaywood and by Sherwin and published by Stent, who also sold our illustration, but the reproduction may be by another hand from some other sketch of Cromwell unknown to me, though the head is exactly like that of the three-quarter length figure in Lord Spencer's collection, reversed though it be, as is often the case with prints.

We learn from the *Dictionary of National Biography*, that Simon was employed to make the head of the effigy carried at Oliver's funeral on November 23rd, 1658³; but this is, of course, not amongst the figures known as "the ragged regiment," of which the majority are now no longer shown to the public, though still preserved in Westminster Abbey. The most excellent artists of the day were often employed in making the face and hands of these effigies.

Mr. St. John Hope⁴ tells us that the representation of Henry VII.⁵

¹ Cromwell paid £20 to Lombard on July 18th, 1655, "for presenting several portraits of his Highness to the Council"; *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1656-7, p. 589.

² This picture is at Euston Hall, in the collection of the Duke of Grafton.

³ On November 23rd, Thomas Simon, as "chief graver of the Mint," was amongst the officers who walked in the funeral procession; Walpole, vol. ii, p. 74.

⁴ *Archæologia*, vol. lx, pp. 517-570, Mr. St. John Hope on "The Funeral Effigies of the Kings and Queens of England." ⁵ *Ibid.*, Plates LXI and LXII.



OLIVER Lord Protector of the Common-
wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland &c.
Sould by P. Sicut.

PORTRAIT OF CROMWELL FROM A CONTEMPORARY ENGRAVING IN THE COLLECTION OF
MR. W. SHARP OGDEN.

"is finely modelled and painted" and that "the work is Renaissance and that of a master, most likely an Italian," hence one feels inclined to wonder whether it was by Torrigiano? The effigy of James I. is now without the head and hands, and the likeness is lost to us; but they were described in the contemporary records of accounts as "curiously wroughte" by Maximilian Colt,¹ and he received ten pounds for making them, and the same sum for the rest of the body, whilst John de Critz was paid no less for "paynting the face of the Royall Representation." The figure of Henry, Prince of Wales, is in no better case, but the waxen image of Charles II. still remains in the Islip Chamber. Mr. St. John Hope informs us that it at one time stood over his grave in the Abbey, though it is not known to have been carried at the funeral: it gives a fair idea of the king.

We may now pass on to the Restoration, and resume our discussion of the Stuart monarchs, for Richard Cromwell, though a lover of art and literature, was wanting in those characteristics which make history, and of him it is not necessary that I should speak, for excepting upon his great seal, to which I have already alluded, p. 200, he is unrepresented in medallic portraiture.

CHARLES II.

The great question in the numismatic world of the days of Charles II. is that of Simon *versus* the Roettier family. The king was most fortunate in succeeding to the services of Thomas Simon, and whether or not his politics and principles were congenial to the Merry

¹ Maximilian Colt, or Poultrain, was also commissioned to make the "representation" of Anne of Denmark, whilst Abraham Vanderdort received the usual fee for the face and hands of Prince Henry. Colt was the sculptor of Queen Elizabeth's tomb in Westminster Abbey, for which he was paid £600, according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, or as Vertue states (*Brit. Mus. Addit.*, 23069, f. 9), £170 for his own work and John de Critz £100, whilst the total "of stone in all" was £965. Colt carved the monuments of the daughters of James also. Some accounts of the period entitled, "An Abstract of the Present State of his Majestie's Revenue," enumerate the expenses at £3,500 for "Tombs for the late Queen, the King's two daughters, and the late Queen of Scots, the King's mother."

Monarch, there is no doubt the medallist was much employed by Charles, though the latter naturally took the earliest possible opportunity of rewarding the faithful Rawlins, who had fallen into great poverty during the ascendancy of the Commonwealth. Directly after his accession he conferred upon him the appointment of chief engraver,¹ thereby confirming his father's grant of his twenty-third year.

During the beginning of the reign Simon was busy at the Tower, having applied in 1660 "for the employment of Chief Engraver to his Majesty and the Mint,"² a position which he states that "he held under the late king." He asks "for pardon, because by order of Parliament he made the Great Seal of 1643,³ and was their chief graver of the Mint and seals"—a no small offence, for Charles I. had declared that he would "proceed with all severity against anyone counterfeiting our Great Seal or money," and the act had been pronounced high treason by a statute of Edward III.⁴ The post for which Simon asked was, as I have just said, reserved for Rawlins, but on May 31st, 1661, we find in the *State Papers* a grant "to Thomas Simon of the office of one of the Engravers of the King's arms, shields and stamps,"⁵ and Mr. Nightingale, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, quotes a patent dated June 2nd, 1661, appointing him with an allowance of £50 a year to succeed "Nicholas Briot, defunct,"⁶ thus naturally ignoring all the warrants of the Commonwealth or of Cromwell.

It is fairly clear that at first Thomas Rawlins and Simon shared in name the office of chief engraver, but that most of the work devolved upon the latter; whilst, subsequently, the Roettiers were almost alone responsible for the milled coinage, Simon being employed

¹ *Cal. State Papers*, Treasury books, 1660-1667, July 7th, 1660: "Thomas Swallow restored to his office as Clerk of the Irons and Surveyor of the Melting House in the Mint. . . . Thomas Rawlins restored to his place as graver of the Mint, David Ramage to be continued in his present employment of preserving all the mills, presses, cutters and other engines for making money at the Mint." Early Entry Book I, p. 12.

² *Cal. State Papers Domestic*, 1660-61, p. 11, vol. i, May (?), 1660.

³ See p. 200 of this *Journal*.

⁴ Wyon's *Great Seals*, pp. 86 and 89.

⁵ *Calendar of State Papers Dom.*, 1660-61, p. 599, vol. xxxvi, docquet.

⁶ *Num. Chron.*, 1st series, vol. iv, p. 222. Vertue, *Medals, Coins, etc.*, p. 55, also quotes this document as being in the "Office Book of the Rolls Chapel" and says that Simon was appointed thereby "Chief Graver of the Mint."

upon seals and medals, and the alteration of some of his own dies ; but there is one entry in the *State Papers* which might lead us to suppose that Rawlins had a hand in the first coinage usually attributed entirely to Simon. This order is addressed to Sir William Parkhurst, who had been reinstated by Charles II. in the place of warden of the Mint, which he had held under Charles I.¹ It is dated June, 1660, almost immediately after the Restoration, and directs the preparation of irons "for coining money at the Mint, and to cause Thomas Rawlins, chief-engraver, to grave the king's effigies, etc., thereon." No coinage has, however, been identified as the work of Rawlins, except, perhaps, the patterns for some copper farthings,² but it is of course possible that he, being very apt as a copyist, may have assisted Simon in the production of the hammered money always attributed to him alone.

Rawlins remained in office until 1670, when on his demise he was apparently succeeded in some branches of his work by Henry Harris, but though there are in the *State Papers* some few notices of the work of Rawlins,³ they are of the early years of Charles II.'s reign and appear to refer principally to seals, and I notice that the petition of Harris is "for the place of engraver of the seals of his Majesty, void by death of . . . Rawlins."⁴ The grant to Henry Harris, which follows, specifies "the office of making and engraving the king's signets, arms, seals, etc., except the irons of the Mint and medals—salary, £50 a year." Curiously enough, a draft for this document speaks of the post as being "void by death of *Thos. Symon*, to whom it was granted in 1661, including the office of graving the irons";⁵ but, as it is apparent that the place of graver of seals did not remain unfilled from the time of Simon's decease in 1665 until 1670, it is possible that the draft was erroneously worded, for we shall find that in the interval a great seal

¹ *Calendar of State Papers Dom.*, Green, 1660-61, p. 78, vol. v, No. 85.

² Patterns for farthings exist bearing the initial R, but are attributed by some authorities to Ramage.

³ *Calendar of State Papers Dom.*, 1660-61, p. 185, vol. x, No. 83, and p. 299, vol. xvii, and 1663-64, p. 109, April 13th, 1663, vol. lxxi, Entry Book 9, and p. 257, August 27th, 1663, vol. lxxix. Docquets.

⁴ *Calendar of State Papers Dom.*, Addenda 1660-70, p. 525, November 11th, 1670, Entry Book 34, p. 56. Minute.

⁵ *Calendar of State Papers Dom.*, Car. II., 280, No. 97.

had been engraved by Roettier, and it would rather appear that Harris succeeded to the place of Rawlins almost as a sinecure, for no coins nor medals by him are known.

The *Calendar of Domestic State Papers* contains many references to Simon, amongst others, the authorisation to make the dies for the coinage in the beginning of 1661-62, but we know that he came yet earlier to the assistance of Rawlins. *Ruding*¹ quotes commands of August 10th, August 18th and September 21st, 1660; the two former being printed in full in the second edition of Vertue's biography of Simon,² whilst the last is there dated 1661, but probably by mistake. We read an order of the "tenth August, twelveth year of our raigne to cause Thomas Symonds to draw and grave and cause to be drawn and graven all such patens and irons" as were needed. Under August the 18th we find a notice to hurry the engraver, who, "by reason hee pretended hee had other warrants for graving several seales for Scotland and Ireland," was behind-hand with his dies, and ordering that he should "forbeare all other services until he hath perfected all things which belonge to him to doe for setting the Mint presently at worke, and that he use all speed and dilligence herein, suitable to the absoluteness of this order and hereof he is not to faile."

Another paper given by Vertue is a warrant from Charles to Simon, dated August the 25th, "the twelveth yeare of our reign," telling him to prepare the several stamps for gold and silver according to the draughts "herein expressed."³ One of these drawings is of a shilling of the first coinage. Then follows the command of September the 21st, 1660, by which the king directs that "you forthwith prepare the original and master puncheon and charges, as also some dies or stamps for our gold and silver coin,"⁴ and this document in its turn refers to a former order of June 27th⁵—which was about the time that a warrant was issued to Rawlins to the same effect.

That Simon, in course of time, obeyed the behest is clear, for in

¹ *Ruding*, vol. ii, p. 2.

² Vertue's *Medals, Coins, etc., of Simon*, ed. 1780, Appendices i, ii and iii.

³ Vertue's *Medals, etc.*, ed. 1780, p. 69.

⁴ *Vertue*, p. 84.

⁵ *Ruding*, ii, p. 2.

his account, printed in Appendix V of Vertue's book,¹ he charges £280 "for fourteen several original stamps by way of the hammer, viz., the crown, the half-crown, the shilling, the sixpence, the fourpence, the threepence, the twopence, the penny, the halfpenny in silver, and for gold the twenty, the ten, and the five shilling and the angel piece."² The celerity desired by the impatient Charles was unattainable, he, however, naturally objecting to the coins of the Commonwealth, caused them to be proclaimed as non-current after November 30th,³ 1661, a date extended for payments to the king until the following March. Simon had other business to occupy him as well as that of cuneator, for his coronation medal⁴ of April, 1661, is one of his most finished works, nor was his plea that he was employed upon the seals, etc., vain,⁵ and when it was decided that the coinage should be milled, there was extra trouble in store for him.



CORONATION MEDAL OF CHARLES II. BY SIMON.

On November 8th, 1661,⁶ Simon was sent to France on business connected with his office, and to obtain the services of Blondeau. As

¹ Vertue's *Medals*, p. 89.

² Vertue's *Medals*, pp. 69* and 70*, Plate xxxix, D and E. This angel is not known in its entirety excepting by a sketch upon the warrant figured in Vertue, but in proof of the fact that Simon made the die, I may mention that I have a cliché of the reverse.

³ *Ruding*, vol. ii, p. 6, and *Pepys*, November 30th, 1661: "This is the last day for the old State's coyne to pass in common payments, but they say it is to pass in publique payment to the king three months still."

⁴ Simon charges £110 for the original coronation medal and £10 10s. besides for "engraving the stamps and coining to the value of £500 work for the use of his Majestie." Vertue's *Medals, etc.*, Appendix V, fo. 89.

⁵ *Calendar of State Papers Dom.*, 1660-61, p. 121, October 23rd, 1661, vol. xliii, Entry Book v, p. 14, *State Papers Treasury Book*, 1660-67, p. 661. Entry Book v, p. 342.

⁶ *Calendar State Papers Dom.*, 1661-62, p. 140.

was not unusual in those days, the expenses incurred by him upon this journey remained unpaid for years, and were still owing to him at the time of his death.¹ It has been suggested² that Simon himself on this occasion arranged for the arrival in England of the Roettiers, in whom he hoped to find auxiliaries, little thinking that they would prove his rivals, and one cannot help feeling that had Simon been willing to hasten his movements and provide a more hurried though less admirable coinage, he would have retained the place of cuneator to the end.

The hammered pieces suffered largely from the rapidity with which they were produced, and Pepys tells us how superior were the dies as compared with the impressions.³ He writes: "Met with Mr. Slingsby,⁴ who showed me the stamps for the king's new coyne; which is strange to see, how good they are in the stamps and bad in the money, for lack of skill to make them; but he says Blondeau⁵ will shortly come over, and then we shall have it better, and the best in the world." Blondeau's installation at the Tower was some time delayed, and the hammered coinage was not abolished as quickly as Pepys hoped that it would be. His expression of opinion as to the faulty striking of the



PROOF FOR A BROAD. 1ST COINAGE OF CHARLES II.

¹ Petition from his widow, see *Num. Chron.*, 1st series, vol. iv, p. 228.

² By Mr. Burn in *Num. Chron.*, 1st series, vol. iii, p. 161.

³ *Pepys*, February 8th, 1660-61.

⁴ Henry Slingsby, deputy master of the Mint, was no friend to Simon, and it may have been partly owing to his influence that the Englishman was superseded by his foreign rival. Pepys tells us that when he visited the Mint on 9th March, 1662-3, and compared Simon's work with that of Roettier "he (Slingsby) extolls those of Rotyr above all others."

⁵ Blondeau was at this time still working at the Paris mint where the mill and screw, after many vicissitudes, had been re-established under Varin in 1640. See *Num. Chron.*, 4th series, vol. ix, p. 84.

coins is corroborated by two clichés in my possession, proofs in thin silver foil for a broad and for a half-crown respectively, of the 1st



PROOF FOR A HALF-CROWN. 1ST COINAGE OF CHARLES II.

series, which clearly show the excellence of the design when carefully reproduced from the dies. The broad in the current coin loses in



BROAD OF THE 1ST COINAGE OF CHARLES II.

sharpness, and the half-crown of this date is very rarely seen in sufficiently good condition for comparison. In spite, however, of the disadvantages under which the hammered issues laboured, they are in my eyes more pleasing in composition though perhaps less like the king, than is the subsequent milled coinage by Roettier.

The improvement in the method of striking may be seen in the little silver pieces concerning which Simon makes a claim for £35 in payment for work done in "altering the stamps for the fourpenny, threepenny, twopenny and penny by way of the mill, wherein I and my servant wrought two months."¹ Mr. Burn in the *Numismatic*

¹ Vertue's *Medals, Coins, etc.*, of Thos. Simon., ed. 1780, Appendix V. This claim is the last upon the list and comes after an item dated April, 1665. The alteration must therefore have been made very shortly before Simon's death.

Chronicle,¹ writes that "this change has reference to the pieces having the king's bust extending to the edge of the coin, the legend commencing on the left side from the breast. The alteration was from those having the bust within the legend designated the 1st sort (by Mr. Hawkins), which from their extreme scarcity ought to be classed among the pattern pieces of Thomas Simon." Mr. Hawkins² considered this more regularly struck series to be intended to serve as Maundy money.



HALF-GROAT, HAMMERED. HALF-GROAT, MILLED. PENNY, MILLED, OF CHARLES II.

A very clear and interesting article describing and illustrating these small coins will be found in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1879, pp. 92-98, by Mr. Webb, in which he calls these examples Type II and Type VI respectively. The little coins are interesting as proving that Simon still gave his attention to numismatic work after the Roettiers had displaced him as cuneator at the mint. The *Calendar of Domestic State Papers* contains many references to our English engraver's activity at the Tower after the decision in favour of the Roettiers, and we know that he was employed in making stamps for the coinage in Scotland from November, 1662, to January, 1663.³ The Scottish coinage was not issued until 1664, and the twenty-mark piece in gold, though enumerated in the list of his claims⁴ did not make its appearance. An order of the Privy Council of October 20th, 1663,

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1st series, vol. iii, 166.

² *Silver Coins of England*, p. 378.

³ *Num. Chron.*, 1st series, vol. iii, p. 166, and Vertue's *Medals*, pp. 71* to 72*.

⁴ Vertue's *Medals, Coins, etc.*, Appendix V, p. 91. "£100 for original stamps for eight several sorts of coynes for gold and silver moneys for Scotland, gold twenty mark piece, ten mark piece, two mark piece, half mark piece, and forty penny piece all in a new manner and form to coyne by way of the mill or press engraving. . . . I have only delivered the silver," and on p. 72* we find Maitland remarking on the omission of the gold puncheons, whilst acknowledging receipt of the silver species of "on hundred and sixtie punsions whereof there is saiven hard punsions, saiven for graving of plate and the rest small punsions for giving impressions."

intrusted the making of the dies to Joachim Harder, the graver of the Edinburgh Mint,¹ and although Simon specifies the puncheons, etc., as amongst his works, it is difficult to decide the exact amount of his responsibility in the matter. The bust is fairly good and like the king, but not equal to the English portraits.² But Simon had little leisure to bestow upon the coinage for the entries concerning seals are continual, sometimes as many as 23³ or even 25⁴ being mentioned in one bill or receipt, whilst other items occur at intervals,⁵ and the work of engraving the great seal of 1663⁶ must have occupied much of his time.

Clarendon, writing in 1655, tells us that "The king had been without a great seal, it having been lost. But he had lately employed a graver to prepare a great seal, which he kept himself, not intending to confer that office whilst he remained abroad."⁷ This seal, which is dated 1653,⁸ remained in use for ten years, for Mr. Wyon informs us that impressions from it are found upon parchments until it was replaced in 1663 by the very fine work of Simon, and quotes the following document concerning the latter. "At the Court of Whitehall the 17th June, 1663, Present the king's most excellent Majestie in Council. This day Mr. Symonds, his Ma^{ties} graver presented his Ma^{tie} with a new Great Seale which was delivered to the Lord High Chancellor of England."⁹ The seal made in 1653 was, it appears, far inferior to its successors, but one cannot help wondering whether it was the first product of the exiled king's acquaintance with some member

¹ Burns' *Coinage of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 494.

² Some years after the death of Simon a slight change was made in the Scottish coinage after 1672, at which date some of the marks are initialed F, by Falconer, son-in-law of Briot. The second issue ordered in 1675, comprising the dollar and its parts, was entrusted to Roettier; on these the style and work nearly resemble the English coins, but the portraiture does the artist no credit, the king's face being utterly devoid of expression.

³ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1664-5, p. 287, vol. cxvi.

⁴ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1665-66, p. 175, vol. cxliii, No. 53.

⁵ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, p. 17, September 26th, 1664, vol. cii, and April, 1664, in *Cal.* of the years 1663-4, p. 543, and Vertue's *Medals, etc.*, Appendix V.

⁶ *Wyon*, Plate XXXVII, p. 37.

⁷ Clarendon's *History*, ed. 1843, p. 807. ⁸ *Wyon*, Plate XXXVI, p. 104.

⁹ *Wyon*, Appendix A, p. 139, from the *Records of the Privy Council*.

of the Roettier family, for it resembles in design the counter-seal of 1672, which should I think be attributed to the Dutch engraver. Mr. Wyon points to some confusion on the part of Vertue¹ who, in his biography of Simon describes the seal of 1672 as the work of that medallist, though in reality it was made after his demise. We find orders for a great seal in the *State Papers*² dated February 22nd and March 6th, 1667, to John and Joseph Roettier, "to make a new Great Seal in the same form as that now in use," but Mr. Wyon tells us that the new design appears first upon documents of 1672, and that the older seal was still used in 1670.³ This was the year of the appointment of Harris,⁴ but I think we may safely assume from its general resemblance to his work, that the new seal is from the hand of Roettier. Mr. J. H. Burn moreover published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*⁵ an undated petition and a letter of August, 1684, addressed respectively to the Commissioners of the Treasury and to Lord Rochester, praying for payment of £200 still due to John Roettier out of £400 for two great seals. The petitioner stated that he had received the first £200 "some short time before your Lordships' last adjournment."

The subject is too long and intricate for me to enter into details here, but it seems possible that the two great seals are: firstly, that engraved from the old pattern as ordered in 1666-7, and secondly, that made from a new design brought into use between 1670 and 1672. Or again, it is possible that the idea of renewing the old seal in 1667 was abandoned in favour of a fresh, and consequently somewhat deferred equestrian portrait of the king, for Mr. Akerman in an article written in an earlier volume of the same publication,⁶ showed good reason for thinking that a charge made by Roettier in 1677 for engraving a great

¹ Vertue's *Medals*, Plate XXVIII, and *Wyon*, Plate XXXVIII, pp. 107 and 190.

² *State Papers Dom.*, 1666-7, p. 525, vol. xcii, and p. 551, vol. xciii.

³ *Wyon*, p. 105.

⁴ *Cal. State Papers*, Addenda, 1660, 1670, p. 525. See also p. 227 of this *Journal*. *Ruding* (vol. i, p. 45) stated erroneously, I think, that Henry Harris was appointed engraver in 1680. We have seen that the office conferred on him in 1670 was that of seal engraver only, exclusively of that of cuneator. He was made chief engraver in March 1689-90. See *Cal. Treasury Papers*, 1659-96, March 19-22, 1689-90, vol. vii, 69.

⁵ *Num. Chron.*, vol. iii, 1st series, p. 173.

⁶ *Num. Chron.*, vol. ii, 1st series, p. 199.

seal, should be associated with a former undated petition referring to the order of 1667; and it appears to me that this account for £246 3s. 2d.¹ seems unduly high if no new design were provided, whilst one of the items "for making of the moulds and casting of the great seal at several times" suggests alterations in the scheme which would delay the production. If we suppose that the appeal of 1677 met with no immediate response, the pressing demands of 1684 might represent the balance for the expenses incurred for the newly designed seal of *circa* 1672, and a subsequent reproduction of the same model at a lower rate which would be only natural.

But a truce to surmise. We have wandered too far from the early years of the reign, and must return to the time when, on January 31st, 1661-2, Simon was commanded to lay aside all other business and prepare puncheons, dies, etc., for coining by press and screw,² and yet again on February 3rd "to make stamps for the new coin."³ The orders issued to the Roettiers bear almost the same date, for we read that they are enjoined on January 24th, 1661-2, to produce "counter puncheons and matrices for coining by press,"⁴ and on February 7th the contest between the engravers is foreshadowed, for we find a warrant "to permit Thos. Simon one of the chief gravers, and John and Joseph Roettier severally to engage a trial piece of silver of the value of five shillings according to drafts shown to the king, and none to disturb them till the work is done and presented to his Majesty for judgement."⁵

We frequently find that Simon was unable to keep pace with the demands made upon his time. In the *State Papers* of 1662, there is a "Warrant to the officers of the mint to coin by the hammer into 20/^s and 10/^s pieces such defective gold as Stephen Fox⁶ shall deliver

¹ The total charge was £246 3s. 2d., but the sum of £48 5s. 0d. had been paid on account, leaving the balance remaining due £197 18s. 2d.

² *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1661-62, p. 260, vol. xlix. Entry Book 5, p. 148.

³ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1661-62, p. 264, vol. l, minute.

⁴ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1661-62, p. 253, vol. xlix.

⁵ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1661-62, p. 268, vol. l, February 7th, Entry Book 5, p. 154.

⁶ Stephen Fox was the Army Paymaster.

unto the Mint, the dyes made by Thos. Simon for coining with press and screw being found insufficient for the service."¹

I believe that I am right in stating that we are acquainted with no milled ten-shilling piece by Simon. Mr. Kenyon states that "some patterns for gold units and double-crowns were executed by him,"² but I have found no evidence concerning a half-broad. One of the finest portraits is that of 1662, and it is probable that it is to the dies for this coin that the engraver alludes in his list of charges as having occupied him and his servants during "nine and ten weeks' time," and he requires £45 for its manufacture.³ There are other patterns, sometimes classed as milled broads by Simon, made in 1660, which appear with three differing busts to right, and two different reverses, and they are singularly beautiful.⁴ Examples are found in silver, and Folkes thought that some varieties might be intended for currency in that metal.⁵ The acknowledged pattern, namely, that of 1662, is not unlike the hammered coinage, but presents some slight varieties, though the head is always turned towards the left.⁶

By this time the friction between the rival cuneators had reached so acute a stage, that in April, 1662, Henry Slingsby deposed in a report to the Council that he and his colleagues "had proposed unto Thomas Simon and John Roettier gravers of the Mint to accept of certain præmia therein specified for the furnishing the Mint with stamps for coining in the new way; but that by reason of a contest in art between them, they had found it difficult to bring them to any agreement."⁷

Much⁸ has been made of the fact that Simon was called upon on January 24th, 1661-2, to deliver up such coining implements as he had in his keeping to the officers of the Mint, but no disgrace was implied.

¹ *Cal. State Papers*, 1661-62, p. 334, vol. liii, April 8th, 1662.

² Kenyon's *Gold Coins*, p. 171.

³ Vertue's *Medals, Coins of Thos. Simon*, Appendix V, p. 89, ed. 1780.

⁴ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 463-4, Nos. 59, 60, and 62, Plate XLIV, Nos. 6, 7, and 9.

⁵ Folkes' *Table, etc.*, p. 107.

⁶ Two specimens illustrated, *Montagu Catalogue*, Plate XIII, Nos. 820 and 822.

⁷ *Ruding*, vol. ii, p. 8; Folkes' *Table of English Silver Coins*, p. 106.

⁸ *Num. Chron.*, vol. iii, 1st series, pp. 162 and 163, and Vertue's *Medals*, App. IV, p. 85.

and similar directions concerning Briot's dies were given in the following August to Ramage and other members of the staff. These directions appear to have merely been preventives against carrying on the business outside the precincts of the Tower, because there was evidence that some of the late king's puncheons had been offered for sale, and although it has been asserted¹ that no more official commands from the Mint were issued to Simon, we have seen that this was far from being the case.

But it was, no doubt, not from any dissatisfaction with Simon, unless perhaps for his dilatoriness, but in order to accelerate an already hurried issue that the king had sent for the Roettiers, whose talents he had possibly learned to appreciate during his residence abroad. According to Walpole,² Charles had borrowed money in his exile at Antwerp, of the father, a goldsmith—the banker of those days—and wished in consequence to employ the sons. This story is discountenanced by Mr. Burn, writing in the *Numismatic Chronicle*,³ but Mr. Nightingale in a later article⁴ in the same publication, says that he sees no reason for thinking that Walpole should not have been correct, inasmuch as he had his information through Vertue, who obtained it in 1745 from the then surviving members of the Roettier family. The anecdote is, moreover, inherently probable, for Charles in his early years was compelled to live from hand to mouth, whilst his followers almost starved on borrowed means, so that on his arrival in England the arrears of the debts he had incurred on the Continent pressed heavily upon him, and any way of repaying them without monetary outlay was most welcome to him.

Be this as it may, the triumph of the Dutch family was assured, and on the 19th of May, 1662,⁵ John Roettier was commanded "to prepare all the master puncheons, letters and charges for silver and gold coins to be made by mill and press, and to make dies for coining according to directions," and on the same day⁶ he was appointed to be

¹ *Ruding*, vol. ii, p. 7. ² Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. ii, p. 184.

³ *Num. Chron.*, 1st series, vol. iii, p. 166.

⁴ *Num. Chron.*, 1st series, vol. iv, p. 58.

⁵ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1661-62, p. 378, vol. liv, Entry Book 7, p. 67.

⁶ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1661-62, p. 378, vol. liv, Entry Book 7, p. 69.

"one of the chief engravers of the Mint," and to receive "£50 a year from the Mint with a convenient dwelling house."

We have seen¹ that on the accession of Charles, David Ramage² had been permitted to retain his post as superintendent of the mills and presses. At about this period he died,³ but still a difficulty arose concerning the installation of Blondeau, and until Blondeau could be established, the milled coinage must wait. It was natural that Simon should have been anxious to obtain the services of the French engineer, who in the time of the Commonwealth, both in 1651 and in 1656, had been the rival of David Ramage and the able coadjutor of Simon in striking the milled coinage.

In 1656, the question of his domicile had been mooted, and it was preliminarily settled that the Wardens of the Mint should allot to him "that house in the Tower where M. Biott formerly worked,"⁴ and he was "authorised to use all such forges and tools as are there and such others in the Tower as he needs, and Mr. Simons to prepare the dies with fitting stamps and inscriptions," and his salary was fixed at £100 a year.⁵

But Blondeau was desirous of secrecy, for he had his own method of striking money, and Worcester House⁶ was then suggested, but finally it was settled by the Protector's Council after much debate that his mills should be erected at Drury House,⁷ and that if necessary the books and papers of one Abraham Brown should be displaced for his convenience.⁸ It was there that Oliver's money was struck. Drury

¹ See note to p. 226.

² *Cal. State Papers Treasury Books*, 1660 to 1667, July 7th, 1660, Early Entry Book I, p. 12.

³ David Ramage died some time between August, 1662, and the November of that year. See pp. 237 and 239.

⁴ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1656-7, p. 106. Proceedings in Council, September 11th, 1656, vol. cxxx, and p. 134, October 16th, vol. cxxx.

⁵ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1656-7, August 19th, 1656, p. 78, vol. cxxix and p. 114, September 19th, 1656, vol. cxxx.

⁶ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1656-7, November 11th, 1656, p. 156, vol. cxxx.

⁷ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1656-7, to December 3rd, 1656, p. 186, vol. cxxxi, 29, and *Ibid.*, 1657-8, p. 37, July 23rd, 1657, vol. clv, 108.6.

⁸ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1657-8, p. 169, November 17th, 1657, vol. clvii, No. 14.

House stood at the corner of Drury Lane and Wych Street, having been built in the reign of Elizabeth by Sir William Drury. It was rebuilt and its name changed to Craven House, as the residence of Lord Craven, and as such was for a short time after the Restoration the abode of Elizabeth of Bohemia,¹ but in the year 1656 it was in the hands of the Trustees of the Delinquents' Lands and was turned into Government offices.

Would that Blondeau had remained in England, for the trouble of installation had now to be faced again amid endless delays, and accommodation had to be found for him at the Mint. The *State Papers* contain many entries on this subject. Under date November 6th, 1662: "There is a notice to remove especially the widow and children of David Ramage, still living between the gates of the Mint, who have obstructed the service and been very obstinate, in order that the workmen employed in the new way of coining may have dwelling houses."² Directions follow "for erecting and preparing tools and engines for the new way of coining gold and silver by mill and press with grained edges." Money had been voted for the purpose.³ It had been agreed on May 17th, 1662, that Blondeau should have letters of denization, the handsome pension of £100⁴ a year, and lodgings in the Tower. In the following October, the title of Engineer to the Mint was granted to him, but it was some time before the new regulations could be put into force, and it appears that the purchase money for the sale of Dunkirk was also awaited to be used as bullion.

This last difficulty is finally overcome. Pepys tells us that on November 21st, 1662, "This day come the king's pleasure ships from Calais with the Dunkirke money, being 400,000 pistolles," and three days later, viz., under November 24th, that "the king and duke are come this morning to the Tower to see the Dunkirke

¹ *The Town, its Memorable Characters and Events*, Leigh Hunt, pp. 300-307.

² *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1661-62, p. 548, vol. lxii, Entry Book 9, p. 34.

³ *Cal. State Papers*, 1661-2, pp. 562 and 574, November 18th, 1662, vol. lxiii, Entry Book 9, 64, and November 28th, vol. lxiii, docquet.

⁴ *Cal. State Papers Dom.* 1661-62, p. 522, vol. lxi, Entry Book 9, p. 6. This grant is for twenty-one years, but Blondeau left England again in April, 1664, and I have not been able to ascertain whether he continued to receive any payment from England.

money we saw none of the money, but Mr. Slingsby did show the king; and I did see the stamps of the new money that is now to be made by Blondeau's fashion, which are very neat and very like the king." On February the 6th,¹ the new coinage was put in hand, and on March 9th, 1662-3, we again find Pepys privately examining samples of the new milled coin at the Mint; but under May 19th of that year he informs us that by "the method of making this new money they now coyne between 16 and 24,000 pounds a week," for Roettier's coinage had been proclaimed current on March 27th, 1663.²



CROWN OF CHARLES II., BY ROETTIER.

There are crowns by the Dutch engraver of 1662, but these must be considered as the forerunners of the general issue, and we may bear in mind that in those times the 27th of March was reckoned but as the third day of the new year.

In August, 1663, a commission attended by Evelyn commenced its sittings and busied itself with the affairs of the Mint.³ As late as March 9th, 1663-4, he writes in his diary, "Now it was that the fine mill'd coin both of white money and guineas was established."

No specimen of Simon's crown dated 1662 is known. The Reddite⁴ Crown with its Latin appeal on its edge to "render unto

¹ Folkes' *Table of English Coins*, p. 108.

² *Num. Chron.*, vol. iii, 1st series, p. 165, and Folkes' *Table of English Coins*, p. 108.

³ Evelyn's *Diary*, August 20th and 27th, 1663, and March 9th, 1663-4.

⁴ The legend on the Reddite Crown is *Reddite Quae Caesaris Caesari, etc.*, followed by the word *Post*, clouds and a rising sun, for *Post nubila Phoebus*.

Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's," with the hope expressed symbolically that after darkness comes light, the yet rarer specimens with the English¹ translation of the Latin invocation and the Petition crown, all bear the date 1663. The inscription on the former specimens may have been intended by Simon to apply, not as is usually thought, to his own re-establishment as cuneator, but to the "glorious restoration" of Charles II., and the idea crosses the mind of the enquirer: Was this Reddite coin the rejected pattern crown; was Roettier's coinage given the preference because his work was first presented to the king?²

By the kindness of Mr. Spink, I am able to illustrate the Reddite crown, which bears exactly the same portrait as the more celebrated Petition crown, and is perhaps less well known, being yet more rare than the wonderful *tour de force* so much prized by collectors.



THE REDDITE CROWN OF CHARLES II.

Simon's Petition crown, with its pathetic appeal upon the edge, was of course placed before the commission mentioned above, but the masterpiece was of no avail. Mr. Burn tells us that twenty specimens of this coin were said to have been struck, one of which was presented to Lord Chancellor Clarendon.³ Mr. Bergne, writing in 1853, was able

¹ Mr. Bergne in *Num. Chron.*, xvi, 1st series, pp. 141-146, enumerates eleven specimens of the *Reddite* in silver and two in pewter, and three of the *Render-unto-Cæsar* crown all in pewter.

² We must bear in mind that there exists in pewter a specimen of the trial crown without any inscription on the edge, and herein we may perhaps find the original pattern prepared by Simon.

³ *Num. Chron.*, vol. iii, 1st series, p. 167.

to enumerate fifteen examples of this work of art then known, this pattern being found in silver only.¹

These relics have usually been most carefully preserved, but even a worn coin realises a comparatively large sum, whilst a perfect crown has been known to sell for £500 at public auctions.

Although we may feel with truth that Roettier's bust of Charles compares ill with that of Simon, it is yet not to be despised, and we should remember to the credit of all artists concerned in portraying this monarch that they had an ugly model. Indeed, the head on John Roettier's crown is so fine that one may see the character of the man, and admire the mixture of cynicism, cleverness, good nature and wit displayed, the latter quality sparkling so much in the individual that the reverse of the picture was forgotten in the glamour surrounding him. Charles II., lacking most of his father's best characteristics, possessed the two gifts most necessary to a king, powers in which Charles I. was wanting—the gift of speech—*i.e.*, the art of always saying the right thing, and the no less capacity for profiting by the actions of others, for his tact enabled him to succeed where others failed.

An instance of his happy turn of phrase is found in the story, which tells how he refused to ratify the choice of the House of Commons of a Speaker² obnoxious to himself, when he, the only monarch who ever ventured to dispute the election of such an official, put all right by the pretty speech that he “reserved him for higher preferment.”

He practised a politic, if rather cynical loyalty to his ministers working good or evil, which led him to say, “I will stick by my old friends, for if I do not I shall have nobody stick to me,” or again, “my father died for forsaking his servant; for myself, I will die some other way.”

It was this loyalty which led him to reinstate his father's old adherents, Parkhurst, Swallowe and Rawlins. It was this tact which endeared him to his people, a people to whom he returned on the

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1st series, vol. xvi, p. 135.

² Sir Edward Seymour in 1678.

swing of the pendulum, a people tired of the austere ways of Oliver Cromwell, a people who had found out that their so-called liberties were less regarded under a military government than under a monarch, and who were ready to welcome a little enjoyment with the rather sentimental love which arose from the sensational death of the late king.

Although the younger Charles was in every way inferior to his father as a judge of art, he yet was a collector of miniatures and of curios, and a generous supporter of talent. He gave encouragement to anything which tended to the glorification of his court and his kingdom, and was ever ready to take the advice of such men as John Evelyn in the employment of a young artist or in the reward of merit, giving great attention to the architectural plans of London after the fire of 1666, at which time he put himself to serious personal inconvenience to relieve the distressed.

Charles II., who had absolutely no personal vanity, was most anxious to introduce a simpler taste in dress into England, less liable to change than that he had seen in his youth at the court of France. Pepys, who though born of an old Cambridgeshire family, and cousin to his patron Edward Montagu, first Earl of Sandwich,¹ was himself the son of a tailor, and always interested in sartorial affairs, says: "The King hath yesterday in Council declared his resolution of setting a fashion in dress, which will never alter. It will be a vest, I know not well how, but it is to teach the nobility thrift, and will do good."

A few days later the diarist further explains:³ "This day the King begins to put on his new vest . . . being a long cassock close to the body, of black cloth and pinked with white silk under it, and a coat over it, and the legs ruffled with black riband like a pigeon's leg . . . they say the King says the pinking upon the whites

¹ Sandwich held an important commission in the navy, and Pepys, who acted as secretary to his cousin on his taking the command of the fleet which brought Charles II. back to England at the Restoration, owed much to his relationship throughout the earlier portion of the reign. It was Sandwich who procured for him his appointment as Clerk of the Acts of the Navy.

² Pepys, October 8th, 1666.

³ Pepys, October 13th, 15th and 17th.

makes them too much like magpies, therefore hath bespoke one of plain velvet." The removal of the white no doubt increased the utility of the suit, but we do not usually associate the word "thrift" with the court of Charles, and one is glad to hear that he should have made some efforts in that direction, though the well-meant effort was not long sustained, for the French King, resenting the fact that England no more adopted Paris fashions, caused his footmen to assume the dress of the English court, and his derision was too much for the courage even of Charles II. Too good-natured to refuse anything to others, too pleasure-loving to deny anything to himself, we can only attribute his sudden excess of economy to the distress occasioned by the terrible fire of the preceding month, or to the strong interest taken by the king in the navy, which was at that time in great straits for money. Once more to quote the diarist, who was again in this instance talking of a matter which, as Clerk of the Acts of the Navy, he was in a position fully to understand,¹ Pepys says: "Time spending and no money to set anything in hand with, the end must be speedy ruin."² Charles II.'s anxiety concerning the introduction of a standing army is well known. His pride in his navy was even greater, and is commemorated by several naval medals bearing good portraits of the king—witness *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 503 and 504, Nos. 139 to 141, and p. 506, Nos. 144 and 145, etc., by Roettier, Rawlins and Simon respectively.

I illustrate the example by Roettier struck to celebrate the Battle of Lowestoft.³ This is one of his best presentments of Charles.

The *Nos penes imperium* medal, *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 506, No. 144, is supposed to have been struck in celebration of the same victory. It is, according to Mr. Nightingale, "entitled to rank as the finest example of Rawlins's talent as an artist,"⁴ and he places it on a par with the Petition crown.

¹ Samuel Pepys became "Clerk of the Acts of the Navy" in 1660 and "Secretary for the affairs of the Navy" in 1673.

² *Pepys Diary*, October 8th, 1666.

³ 3rd of June, 1665.

⁴ *Num. Chron.*, 1st series, vol. xiii, p. 132.



CHARLES II. BATTLE OF LOWESTOFT MEDAL BY ROETTIER,
MED. ILL., VOL. I, P. 503, NO. 139.

No one will deny that the third specimen which I have mentioned—No. 145, a small medal claiming the dominion of the sea—is one of Simon's most remarkably finished works.¹



CHARLES II. NOS PEXES IMPERIUM MEDAL BY RAWLINS,
MED. ILL., VOL. I, P. 506, NO. 144.



CHARLES II. NAVAL REWARD BY SIMON. *MED. ILL.*, VOL. I, P. 506, NO. 145.

¹ The reverse of this medal is an elaboration of the seal made by Simon for the Admiralty Office. See Vertue's *Medals, etc.*, Plate XXXIII, p. 55.

It has the melancholy honour of being probably his last effort, for it was made to celebrate the naval battle of June 3rd, 1665, and it is known that Simon died no later than July in that year during the plague, his will being proved in the following August.¹ If any further evidence were needed that this artist was active in the service of Charles to the very end, the instance of these medals, all struck to commemorate one event by the three chief engravers, would afford us the opportunity of showing that they worked concurrently as royal medallists. The greater rarity of the specimens executed by Rawlins and Simon would point to the certainty that Roettier's work was selected by the king for general distribution, though this may be partly attributable to the immediate death of Simon. There are other medals by John Roettier struck for the same purpose, and in a list of the medallic works of this artist, it is stated that a smaller example than that illustrated on the former page was designed to be given to persons under the rank of captain, "who had signalised themselves in actions at sea."²

I have said that Charles I. was particularly easy to portray; not so Charles II. It is curious how meaningless many of the paintings of this monarch are; but, excepting the miniaturist Cooper, there were few really first-rate painters in England at that period. I am, however, by the kindness of Dr. Williamson, able to give an illustration of a remarkably good drawing in plumbago on vellum by David Loggan,³ possibly the original sketch for one of his engraved portraits of the king. This German artist, who settled in England before the Restoration, became famous for his highly finished pencilled pictures, which were much in fashion at the courts of Charles II. and the succeeding monarchs. Walpole says that as an engraver he was a pupil of Simon van de Passe in Denmark.⁴ The majority of the painters who held

¹ The will of Thomas Simon was proved August 3rd, 1665, and was dated June 17th, 1665; but it is known that he was still alive on the 1st of July in that year, and he is believed to have died of the plague. *Num. Chron.*, 1st series, vol. v, pp. 167-172, and vol. vii, p. 23.

² *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 504, No. 140.

³ David Loggan, born at Dantzic about 1630, died in London in 1693.

⁴ Walpole's *Anecdotes*, vol. iii, p. 217, ed. 1888.



CHARLES II., FROM A DRAWING BY DAVID LOGGAN IN THE COLLECTION OF
DR. GEORGE WILLIAMSON.

the chief positions at court, such as Peter Lely, of whom it was said that "he painted many fine pictures, but few good portraits,"¹ and the no less conventional Godfrey Kneller, though possessed of a certain talent, had but small powers of discernment. So much was this the case that Dryden writing concerning the former said: "It was objected against a late noble Painter that he drew many graceful pictures, but few of them were like, and this happened to him because he always studied himself more than those who sat to him."

Vertue, from whose manuscript I take this criticism, comments thus: "The real reason is that he was not so firm of line in his lineaments as he was an excellent colourist and of a fine freedom of hand."² Be this as it may, of both Lely and Kneller one may say that their pictures, with some exceptions, are more like each other than they are or can have been like the individual model, whereas the sculptural, numismatic and medallion portraits of the day sparkle with life and expression, and the colossal marble bust,³ the gift of Mr. Durlacher to the nation, now at the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the famous Petition crown seem to me infinitely more suggestive of the man, than are the majority of the painted effigies of the versatile Charles with which I am acquainted. I have, however, the pleasure of reproducing in colour as the frontispiece to this paper, a very striking and original chalk sketch of Charles II. by Sir Peter Lely in Mr. W. Sharp Ogden's possession. Unlike many pictures of this artist, the colouring is especially correct, for most of Lely's portraits show the king with a coal-black wig with none of the chestnut lights to be seen in the hair of all the Stuarts, whether dark or fair. This peculiarity is so well given in our sketch that I should be inclined to regard it as a proof that it must have been crayoned before Charles adopted the fashionable coiffure. Lady Chaworth, writing to her brother, Lord Roos, concerning a copy made for her in 1676 of an oil painting by this artist,

¹ Grainger's *Biographical History*, vol. iv, p. 117.

² *Vertue MS.*, Brit. Mus. Addit. 25071, f. 22.

³ The bust is dated 1684, and is signed HONNORE PELLE. F., but I regret to say that I have so far been unable to identify the sculptor. To judge by his treatment of the subject, he would appear to be of the school of Bernini. The signature may, of course, be an abbreviation.

comments on his inaccuracy as a colourist : " I have made the copier correct Mr. Lilie's fault towards all men in wronging, by making blacker, older and moroser in his draughts than they are."¹

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of correct colouring. The saying of the Italian Bernini that " it is the impossiblest thing in the world to make a picture in stone naturally resembling any person " was exemplified by him to his sitter, Mr. Nicholas Stone, by covering the face of a man with flour, and then asking the Englishman whether he should have known him. His negative reply proved that the tint of the eyes, the hair and general appearance of the face carry more weight than the bare fact of accurate outline.²

Charles II. was not handsome, having, as was once said of him, " a most saturnine harsh countenance," which, however, was belied by his character and often exaggerated in his pictures, especially in his youth. This, again, was redeemed in life by the fire of his eyes and in the liveliness of the ever-changing expression of the otherwise ugly mouth, which it is so difficult for an artist to portray, and it is ever in the eyes and mouth that we must look for a true likeness. Successful as was Thomas Simon in his portraiture, even he cannot conceal, indeed he was rather apt to accentuate, the king's chief blemish, the large mouth which he inherited from his mother, and this to a certain extent spoils the appearance of the hammered gold coinage, though it is less prominent in the pattern guineas of 1660 and 1662.³ In dealing with this difficulty, we see the true artist, for who can fail to be struck by this feature as represented on the *Jam Florescit* medal, *Med. Ill.*, i, p. 475, No. 83, illustrated here, p. 251, and still more so on the masterpiece called the Petition crown, where the expression of the cynic comes out most strongly. This force was so characteristic of all Simon's portraiture that Pepys,⁴ comparing the coinage prepared by Roettier for Charles, with that designed for Oliver by Simon, tells us

¹ *Rutland MSS.* at Belvoir Castle, vol. ii, p. 27, *Historical MSS. Reports.*

² *Verlue's MSS.*, Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 23071, f. 16.

³ See p. 236.

⁴ Pepys, March 9th, 1662-3 ; " and, indeed, I think they are the better because the sweeter of the two ; but upon my word, those of the Protector are more like, in my mind, than the King's, but both very well worth seeing." See p. 216.

that he thought the king's likeness "the better, because the sweeter of the two," though we have seen that he considered the coins of the Protector to be more truly representative of the models portrayed.

Curiously enough, the sardonic curl of the lips is far more marked in nearly all the coins, whether by Simon or Roettier, than in the various miniatures of the witty monarch painted by Samuel Cooper, on whose work we should be able to rely for accuracy, for he was so faithful an artist that we may even note in one of the splendid miniatures at Windsor, that the king's parting was becoming thin, a fact which serves to date the painting, inasmuch as Charles began to wear a wig towards the end of 1663 or in the beginning of 1664.¹ It is possible the sketch specially executed by Cooper for the coinage may give this peculiarly cynical expression, but this sketch I have never seen; and most of the miniatures present a three-quarter face view unsuitable for the purpose.

It is said of Henrietta Maria, that when she arrived in France, very ill after the birth of her youngest child and her subsequent flight from Exeter, she was so thin that her face appeared to be all mouth, and this feature, which is hardly noticeable in the beautiful portraits of her by Van Dyck, was indeed the great disfigurement of her son, and must to a certain extent mar all his portraits. But in spite of this blemish his coins are very fine, although his greatest attractions, namely, his extremely handsome stature² and carriage, were, of course, lost in the scope of a small metal disc.

Burnet, whose remarks upon Charles II. were often characterised by bad taste and inaccuracy, compares him in appearance and disposition with Tiberius. He says that he saw a statue of this emperor at Rome, which, but for the fact that Tiberius had lost his teeth, "was so like King Charles, that Prince Borghese and Signior Domenico, to whom it belonged, did agree with me in thinking that it looked like a statue made for him."³ I do not recall the marble in

¹ Pepys mentions under November 2nd, 1663, that the king is turning grey, and intends to wear a wig; and on the following April 18th, 1664, that he has seen him for the first time "with his periwig, but not altered at all."

² Charles II. was 6 feet 2 inches in height and remarkably well proportioned.

³ Burnet's *History of His Own Times*, vol. ii, p. 482.

question, but I have studied many busts and gems representing the emperor at various ages, and have examined, side by side, the coins of the two rulers. Those of Tiberius are very handsome and finely executed, but the shape of the mouth is different and in such statues as bear no mark of restoration, the bridge of the nose is much higher than is that of Charles II., and though at the first glance a certain likeness may be seen between the two portraits on the coins, the expression of the faces does not justify the malevolent comparison.

Of the large quantity of his badges with their varying busts, I have spoken before,¹ but they are mostly of inferior execution, and would not in any case come under the head of artistic portraiture. They were hastily cast to stir up that loyalty which the far more beautiful memorials of his father had tended to preserve; some of them, however, by Thomas Rawlins, are worthy of study.



DIXI-CUSTODIAM MEDAL OF CHARLES II. *MED. ILL.*, VOL. I, P. 474, NO. 80.

Amongst the best works of this artist are the medals designed for the coronation² bearing the words *Dixi Custodiam*.³ The finish of these is so admirable that it rivals that of the Coronation medal of Simon, illustrated on p. 217, and which is usually quoted as the masterpiece of that medallist. But many of the portraits executed by Rawlins lack the vigour of Simon's work, the expression of the king's face wanting the individuality he so eminently possessed, though the little badges of Charles when a boy are sufficiently like the charming miniature by David de Grange, the property of Lord Dysart at Ham House, and

¹ Vol. ii of this *Journal*, p. 279 *et seq.*

² *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 473-475, Nos. 78-81.

³ *Med. Ill.*, i, 473, No. 78, p. 475, No. 83.



CHARLES SCOTIENSIS
Regis viva et novissima Effigies

CHARLES II., AS KING OF THE SCOTS, FROM A RARE ENGRAVING IN THE
COLLECTION OF MR. W. SHARP OGDEN.

some of the pictures at Combe Abbey, or again the rare print from Mr. W. Sharp Ogden's collection which I am permitted to reproduce



BADGES OF CHARLES II. IN HIS YOUTH.

MED. ILL., VOL. I, P. 438, NO. 3.

MED. ILL., VOL. I, P. 439, NO. 6.

here to show that the young king, whether portrayed medallically or pictorially possessed many attractions. These badges were, perhaps, coincidently made in France by Rawlins. The signature "G. L." upon our illustration, points to Gabriel Ladame, an artist who often engraved his own drawings. He worked in Paris from 1645 to 1661, and it is therefore likely that he enjoyed the opportunity of personal acquaintance with the young king, and the print would probably be prepared for the expedition into Scotland of 1650, just as Charles was entering his twenty-first year, or on his return in commemoration of the Scottish coronation which took place in January, 1651.

Perhaps the most pleasing likeness of Charles, executed by Thomas Simon, is a larger medal classed amongst those struck to



JAM-FLORESCIT MEDAL OF CHARLES II. *MED. ILL.*, I, P. 475, NO. 83.

commemorate the English coronation, bearing on the reverse the date, April 23rd, 1661, and the inscription, *Jam Florescit*.

Vertue suggested that this was the medal designed by Abraham Simon,¹ by desire of Charles II. for the Knights of the Order of the Royal Oak at the price of £100, but later and more conclusive evidence is given in *Medallic Illustrations of British History* identifying it with the pendant for which his brother Simon received, or rather demanded, £28, for "embossing the head and engraving the reverse." It figures in the list of his claims given in Appendix V of the revised edition of Vertue's life of the artist, published in 1780,² with the further charge of £20 10s. for two medals bearing this design, given to the king's master cooks, at the weight of 3 oz. 2 dwt. 16 grs., and again for a similar badge for an Italian musician,³ at the sum of £38 although rather lighter, namely, 1 oz. 10 dwt. 8 grs. Vertue says that Walpole's example, which he attributes to Abraham Simon, turned the scales at 4 oz.,⁴ and I find that the specimen at the British Museum weighs 849½ grains, so one can only assume that the pieces varied largely in thickness of flan. We must conclude that the ornament was worn by members of the royal household.

The portrait is very fine, whether originally designed by Abraham or Thomas Simon, for the elder brother frequently supplied the first waxen sketch; but perhaps even more characteristic of the witty Charles is the slightly cynical portrait on the large and elaborate production of one of the brothers Roettier, to which a similar doubt as to the designer exists. It commemorates the arrival of the king on May 29th, 1660, though it was probably struck about 1665.

This medal, of which unfortunately there are many re-strikes, is inscribed FELICITAS . BRITANNIÆ and the portrait on the obverse

¹ Vertue's *Medals, Coins, etc.*, p. 46.

² Vertue's *Medals, Coins, etc.*, of Thomas Simon, ed. 1780, p. 89.

³ In the petition for payment sent to the Treasury by Simon's widow, the claim is reduced to £10 10s., because there was neither warrant nor "receipt therefor submitted as aforesaid," i.e., in Simon's former "Accompt." It is thought that the "Italian Musician" was probably Giovanni Baptista Draghi, in the service of Queen Catherine." See *Num. Chron.*, 1st series, vol. iv, p. 228.

⁴ Vertue's *Medals*, p. 45, note.



THE *FELICITAS-BRITANNIAE* MEDAL OF CHARLES II., *MED. ILL.*, VOL. I, P. 460, NO. 54.

is generally attributed to John Roettier, but Nagler assigns it to Philip¹ the third member of the firm, whilst Mr. J. H. Burn² remarked that it was "stated by the family that the head on the obverse was the work of his brother Joseph,³ afterwards the chief engraver in the French Mint at Paris." The list of works by the Roettiers from which Mr. Burn deduces this information, may be found in the same volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle* in which he published his article ; and was copied by Mr. James Bindley from a paper in the possession of Thomas Snelling in 1776.⁴

I have studied the works of Joseph Roettier in the Bibliothèque Nationale and giving my opinion for what it is worth, I should say that the portrait on this medal bears more affinity to the treatment of John Roettier than to the productions of Joseph, executed later at the French mint. It is of course difficult to dissociate the work of the two brothers, who shared the position of chief engraver of the English coinage until the departure of Joseph for Paris, but in that city it is presumable that the latter was largely responsible from 1672 or 1673 onward for the portraiture on the French currency, especially after 1682, when he became *tailleur général des monnaies* with the further appointment in 1694 of *graveur particulier de la monnaie de Paris*.⁵

There is, I understand, amongst the Stuart Papers at Windsor Castle, a complete list of the dies which remained in the hands of Norbert Roettier's widow at the time of his death in 1727. It was often quoted by Mr. Hawkins, but I have not seen it ; possibly when the manuscripts of that date shall be sifted we may derive much information concerning the dates of some of the medals, but at present the Stuart Papers are only calendared and printed down to the year 1717,

¹ Philip Roettier was born in 1640 and died at Antwerp in 1712. He would, therefore, be aged twenty-four, or twenty-five, in 1665.

² *Num. Chron.*, 1st series, vol. iii, p. 168.

³ Joseph was the second brother. See *Num. Chron.*, 1st series, vol. iii, pp. 57-60, and pedigree on p. 189. Joseph Roettier was born on Aug. 1st, 1635, died at Paris in Sept., 1703, see *Rondot*, p. 313.

⁴ *Num. Chron.*, 1st series, vol. iii, p. 58.

⁵ *Les Médailleurs et les Graveurs de Monnaies*, par Natalis Rondot. Edité par H. de la Tour, p. 314.

and though I believe that we may shortly expect a volume containing the documents of the following year, I fear it will be long before we reach the letters of 1727. Mr. Hawkins, however, can have found nothing in the list to disturb the usual attribution of the *Felicitas Britanniae* medal to John Roettier, for he considered it to be his work.

In a correspondence between the exiled Stuarts and Mrs. Roettier concerning the dies, the widow asked so large a price for them that they were left on her hands, but were subsequently acquired by Mathew Young¹ about one hundred years later, from a man named Cox who had purchased them from her family.

The dies of the *Felicitas Britanniae* medal were not, however, as stated by Mr. Burn² amongst those purchased by Mr. Young in 1828, or if they were so, he did not present them to the British Museum after making re-strikes from them, as was the case with the majority of the collection. A very short time ago they were offered by their possessor of the moment to the public, but they are no longer in a condition for further use, and so the fact that they have not been defaced is of little importance now.

The medal is in such high relief that it serves as a good example of the great success of Roettier's method; being to my mind, in point of portraiture, one of the finest medals of the day, and it was clearly a good specimen of the taste of the period, for Evelyn, the art critic of the court, describes it as "exquisitely designed."³

So highly was this portrait esteemed that Slingsby in 1687 asked Pepys £4 10s. for it, and stated that he offered it and other medals at the price he himself had paid when in his official position he had the opportunity to "chuse the best struck off." He sends the diarist a long list of medals "which you shall have at the rate I paid for. When

¹ Mathew Young acquired the dies from a person named Cox, who had obtained them from the daughters of Roettier in their extreme old age. See my paper, "Patterns and Medals bearing the legend Jacobus III., or Jacobus VIII.," *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. iii, p. 236.

² *Num. Chron.*, 1st series, vol. iii, p. 175.

³ *Discourse of Medals*, p. 127.

Roettier happens to die they may be worth five or ten pounds more, and yet are not (to) be had, many of the stamps being broke and spoiled."¹

Two panes of glass taken from an old house² in Purfleet and now in the British and the Victoria and Albert Museums, respectively, are decorated with the bust of Charles II. in very high relief. They recall this portrait and others by Roettier, more particularly *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 600, No. 287, with the same border, so nearly that one feels they must owe their design to a common original.

A fair example of John Roettier's work is the oft quoted "golden medal,"³ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 489, No. 111, concerning which the courtly Waller wrote,

"Our guard upon the royal side,
On the reverse our beauty's pride,
Here we discern the frown and smile,
The force and glory of our isle."



THE GOLDEN MEDAL OF CHARLES AND CATHARINE.

MED. ILL., VOL. I, P. 489, NO. 111.

It commemorates the wedding of Charles with Catharine, and is perhaps one of the least disagreeable of the early medallic portraits of the Queen, but this is not saying much, for she did not show to advantage on her first arrival, when she suffered from the uncompromising

¹ *Pepys*, vol. v, p. 132. Ed. 1828. Correspondence Oct. 11, 1687. The total amounts to £43, so the expected rise in price was large in proportion, and has hardly been realised.

Whitbread's House, Purfleet.

² This medal must not be confused with the inferior and somewhat larger copy executed about the same time.

Spanish fashions which she fortunately soon discarded. Few of our English artists present her in a pleasing light, though Samuel Cooper, it is true, contrived to give a really forcible and yet a pretty picture of this princess.¹ It is said that the painter she most affected was Jacob Huysmans, from whose brush proceeds the original of the fine mezzotint lent to me for reproduction by Mr. W. Sharp Ogden. Huysmans, who was the rival of Lely, depicted the queen full-length as St. Catharine with angels, the wheel, and other emblems, and it is said that he himself preferred this to his other pictures.² The position in our print and in the oil painting is the same, and but for a few alterations in dress, the two are identical, but the latter may not be the particular portrait copied by the engraver, for Huysmans frequently portrayed her. The fondness of Queen Catharine for representing her patron saint is exemplified in some of her medals,³ the obverse of the specimens varying little from the bust upon the Golden medal, whilst St. Catharine appears upon the reverse, and the design of this same reverse is also used as the obverse of another and smaller medallion. Upon the whole, I think, the most pleasing medallic representation of the queen in my possession is that upon the British Colonisation medal (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 546, No. 203), where she is seen jugate with the king; it is the work of John Roettier in 1670.



BRITISH COLONISATION MEDAL OF CHARLES AND CATHARINE,
MED. ILL., VOL. I, P. 546, NO. 203.

¹ In the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle.

² Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, ed. 1888, vol. ii, p. 122.

³ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 490 and 491, Nos. 112 and 114.



*Catharina D. G. Mag. Brit. Fra. et. Hib. Regina
Filia Joannis III. Reg. Portug. &c.*

QUEEN CATHARINE, FROM A MEZZOTINT IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. W. SHARP OGDEN.

A finer portrait of Charles by the same artist is the Christ's Hospital medal of 1673, *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 556, No. 217, called by Evelyn in his enthusiasm a "glorious medalion."



CHARLES II. THE CHRIST'S HOSPITAL MEDAL, *MED. ILL.*, VOL. I, P. 556, NO. 217.

It will be observed that after the death of Simon, all the good medallic presentments of Charles II. are by John Roettier, for he was far more successful than such medallists as Bower and Peter van Abeele in bringing the king before our eyes. I cannot cite the many examples produced by the rival artists, for I have already too long trespassed on the patience of my readers, and space lacks for reviewing the unending procession, for the age of Charles II. was the age of medallists in England.

The king, though perhaps not prompt in his payments, was above all things generous. We have seen that the grant to John Roettier as "one of the chief Engravers of the Mint" of May 19th, 1662, included the "fee of £50 a year from the Mint with a convenient dwelling-house,"² and this was already a higher remuneration than that enjoyed by some of his predecessors in the reign of Charles I.; but one of the

¹ *Discourse of Medals*, p. 140.

² *Cal. of State Papers Dom.*, 1661-62, p. 378, vol. liv. Entry Book 7, p. 69.
VOL. V.

entries in the *State Papers* of June, 1664, mentions that the sum of £500 a year was granted to the three brothers Roettier "employed in engraving and embossing dies, etc., for gold and silver for coinage, for which they are to produce the iron and steel at their own expense."¹ Another warrant of January, 1668, mentions "£350 to be given to John, Joseph and Philip Roettiers, chief gravers of the Mint, as a free gift for service."²

Finally, a fresh grant is made on April 7th, 1669, to the brothers "as engravers of stone of the office of chief engravers of the Mint with a salary of £450, they having at the king's instance left their native country to employ their art in his service."³ The necessity for a new appointment seems to have arisen in a few weeks, from the fact that they only held their office during pleasure, for we read—that "John, Joseph and Philip Roettier insist to have their patent for life because they may become blind,"⁴ and three days later we find their request allowed—"ordered that they have a patent (for their office) for their lives to be paid at the Mint."⁵ It appears from two reports made to the Treasury in 1689-90, that John Roettier received from Charles £325 yearly as cuneator for himself and his coadjutors, and also as "graver of medals and agate, £450 for life."⁶

He continued to enjoy these salaries shared by his assistants until the inquiry into the affairs of the Mint in 1697,⁷ although Joseph and Philip had both quitted England⁸ and their nephews,

¹ *Cal. of State Papers Dom.*, 1663-4, p. 625, vol. xcix. Entry Book 16, p. 155.

² *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1667-68, p. 173. Entry Book 26, f. 24, January 17th, 1667-8.

³ *Cal. of State Papers Dom.*, 1668-69, p. 270. Entry Book 26, f. 54.

⁴ *State Papers Treasury Books*, 1669-72, vol. i, p. 88, June 18th, 1669.

⁵ *Cal. State Papers*, p. 9c, *Treasury Book*, iii, pp. 123-5.

⁶ *Cal. Treasury Books*, 1656-96, p. 108, March, 1689-90, vol. vii, 69.

⁷ *Common's Journal*, vol. xi, p. 776.

⁸ It is stated in the Treasury Papers, July 2nd, 1689, vol. ix, p. 53, "Joseph had left England about ten years since, and Philip about February, 1684-5." It is therefore difficult to determine the exact date of their departure, but according to French authorities such as M. Rondot (*Les Médailleurs et les Graveurs de Monnaies*, p. 314) Joseph arrived in Paris in 1672 or 1673 and was naturalised there in 1674, whilst Philip (see *Ibid.*, p. 309) was also naturalised in France in the same year, and afterwards served Philip V.,

James and Norbert, the sons of John, had succeeded them in office.¹

Joseph had received the full appointment of *Graveur-Général* to the French court in 1682 after the resignation of François Varin,² the son of Jean Varin, who died in 1672; and Philip, according to Mr. Burn, went to Flanders, *circa* 1678, and there entered the service of the King of Spain,³ but it is difficult to ascertain the exact dates of the movement of these brothers. We have in the *State Papers* under February 21st, 1670, a pass to enable Philip Roettier to travel in Italy for his artistic improvement, with a special stipulation that he should return to this country,⁴ but we have few records of his performances in England, though his name appears in all the documents concerning his brothers.

It is not necessary to enumerate the many occasions on which we find payments made to these artists or to Simon, for it is almost impossible to dissociate the remuneration for the work from the bullion employed. The fact that the widow⁵ of Simon in 1666, like the relict of Briot, was obliged to press for large sums still owing after the death of the engraver, proves the unpunctuality of all the financial transactions of the State, and an entry in the *Treasury Books*⁶ of May 24th, 1665, is a pathetic comment on Simon's long term of service, for we find : " £1,000 to Thomas Symon, one of the king's engravers, he having

of Spain, in Flanders. The date of his appointment in that country is not given, but Nagler in his *Monogrammisten*, vol. iv, p. 907, says he was still in England in 1680.

¹ *Cal. Treasury Papers*, 1656-96, p. 53, vol. iv, July 2nd, 1689, and p. 108, vol. vii, March 19th and 22nd, 1689-90.

² Rondot's *Médailleurs*, pp. 280-284 and 314-315.

³ *Num. Chron.*, 1st series, vol. iii, p. 184.

⁴ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1660-79, Addenda, p. 70, Foreign Entry Book 12, p. 289.

⁵ Simon's widow claimed £2,164 as arrears due to her husband; the itemised account is printed by Mr. Nightingale in *Num. Chron.*, 1st series, vol. iv, pp. 227-229. We learn from Vertue (MS. B.M. Addit. 23070, f. 78v) that Mrs. Simon married a second time. He tells us that in 1676 a certain Mr. Marlow bought some dies of "the widow of Simon, who was then re-married to Mr. —, a dissenting person," and further remarks that the son of Simon was of weak intellect and was unable to follow his father's profession, hence the sale of these "tools, stamps and puncheons."

⁶ *State Papers Treasury Books*, 1660-67, p. 661, Early Entry, Book V, p. 342.

made for the king's service several great seals for England, Scotland, Ireland and the Foreign Plantations, also many stamps, medals, etc., and having not yet received any payments towards the satisfaction of the same." Charles was, as I have said, generous, but he was extravagant, and the demands made upon him were immense. He has been accused of injustice towards Simon, but we have seen that Simon retained his salary to the end,¹ that his talents were in no way slighted, though tardily paid, and that his rivals, the Roettiers, found the same difficulty in obtaining remuneration.

So much was this the case, that the latter in one petition speak of being "in great want and necessity, and put to hard difficulties and shiftes for procuring money, being a stranger here in England";² or again, implore speedy payment, "otherwise we shall be ruined, being put to great straightes for moneys to maintain my family and paying the workmen of the Mint," and at one moment the appeal is for £1,012 10s. the arrears of salary due to them.

Whilst glancing for a moment at the personal responsibility of the king in the selection of his artists, we must remember that the doctrine of expediency, learnt in his youth in the hard school of adversity, guided all his actions; too clever to fall into the errors of his father, the younger Charles had yet a very difficult course to steer, and he kept his popularity by floating in the middle of the stream. Simon's politics were not in sympathy with those of the king. Charles had nothing for which to thank him in the past; he had, on the contrary, to hold out the hand of forgiveness to the servant of the Commonwealth, but Simon's talents must not be lost, so he must be employed upon seals and medals to the last, whilst the new coinage was confided to the Roettiers--themselves great medallists--and to whom the monarch may have been under personal obligations.

This is typical of the King's actions throughout his reign. Charles was a Catholic at heart, but he had too much wit and too little principle to avow a belief which subsequently cost his brother James the crown, for he well understood that the time was not ripe

¹ *Num. Chron.*, vol. vii, 1st series, p. 24.

² *Num. Chron.*, vol. iii, 1st series, pp. 171 and 173.

for religious toleration, and that his political strength lay in the Church of England, as opposed to the Puritanism of which the people were weary.¹

The idol of the nation, Charles had every outward quality which appealed to the hearts of his subjects—a perfect tactician, a proficient in country sport, a graceful and an active man, so rapid a walker that his courtiers found it difficult to keep pace with him, a lover of animals, and a patron of the turf, of music and of the drama; for he encouraged the very amusements of which the nation had for some years been deprived. In more serious pursuits, his interest in science and literature is evidenced by his ready support of learned institutions, by his friendship with Hobbes and Dryden, whilst his patronage of Wren and Grinling Gibbons, of Lely, of Van de Velde, of Cooper, of Hollar, and of others, bears witness to his attention to the artistic branch of the kingdom's progress.

Fully half a Frenchman by birth, Charles combined the qualities of both nations, and, educated as he had been in a despotic monarchy, he believed, as he himself stated, that "much may be done by the personal intervention of Kings";² but his native shrewdness kept him from falling into the errors committed by other members of his family.

He was a keen judge of character. It was said of him. "Where men had chinks he could see through them as soon as anyone about him," and Sir William Temple wrote that he had "great quickness of conception, great pleasantness of wit, great variety of knowledge, more observation and a truer judgment of men than one would have imagined; he desired nothing but to be easy himself and that everybody else should be so."³

Though but a dilettante as compared to his father in the real knowledge of art, his singular faculty for making the best of the materials within his reach resulted in artistic success, and he consequently produced almost as fine a currency and a more remarkable

¹ *Early History of the Tories*, Roylance Kent, p. 143.

² *Historical MSS.*, vol. iv, p. 30, G. M. Heathcote papers.

³ Courtney's *Memoirs of Sir William Temple*, vol. i, p. 500.

medallic series than Charles I. had ever been able to obtain. This was, however, partly owing to the fact that the art of striking medals in high relief was better understood in the latter than in the former half of the seventeenth century, and partly to the more peaceful times in which he reigned.

If I have not already too much wearied my readers with the subject of medallic portraiture, I hope I may be allowed in some future volume to follow the story of the Stuarts throughout the days of James II. and his two daughters Mary and Anne.

It now only remains to me to thank those who have allowed me to study or illustrate from their collections, also very specially our editors and many members of this Society and others for the help they have given me during such researches as I have been able to make concerning the problems at which I have glanced, and to express a hope that the references I have given to the many admirable volumes of the *Calendars of State Papers*, may save time to those more learned than myself who will perhaps try to decipher at greater length more of the documents at the fountain head.

I only claim to have treated these matters on the surface, excepting in those instances where the abstracts in the Calendars did not satisfy my requirements or fit in with dates previously known to us, and which needed further elucidation from the original MSS. in the Record Office, where, as in the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale and other public places of research, I have always met with the readiest courtesy and attention.

COIN COLLECTING IN THE DECCAN.

BY MAJOR R. P. JACKSON, *Indian Army (Retired)*.

WHEN the British-Indian rupee was emancipated from the superscription of the shadowy kingship of Delhi in 1835, India possessed some three hundred varieties of currency, for nearly every native state had its own coinage, the princes regarding the privilege of coining as insignia of independent rule. The Court of Directors, having placed the British-Indian coinage upon a satisfactory basis, endeavoured to establish a uniform system throughout the native states, but the princes declined any change in their hand-made and debased rupees. "In the seventies the Government of India again tackled the problem by offering to coin for the states money of the same weight and fineness as that circulating in British territory, in which it would be legal tender, provided that rulers consenting to the proposal would agree to close their mints for a term of years. A few of the smaller states accepted this concession; but the majority held aloof, and it was not until the passing of the Currency Act and the closing of the Bombay and Calcutta mints to the free coinage of silver in 1893, that an appreciable advance was made in monetary reforms in feudatory India, and as their rupees were easily counterfeited, and the advent of cheap silver had made their imitation a very profitable speculation, many of the rulers were impelled to accept the British rupee as a means of self-protection.¹

"A notable exception, however, to this gathering of the feudatories into the Imperial currency fold is Hyderabad, the ruler of which has resisted the blandishments of Simla and Calcutta. . . . As the monetary troubles of the great Deccan Principality form a curiously interesting page of its history, a brief epitome of some of them will

¹ From *The Madras Mail*.

not be inappropriate at the present moment. Prior to the introduction by Sir Salar Jung in the 'fifties of the Halli Sicca rupee and its multiples, Hyderabad excelled the rest of India in the number of its mints and the varieties of its currencies, which starting with the old Delhi standard of nine *mashas* of silver to two of alloy, were so attenuated by adulteration that the intrinsic value of many of the coins was not more than eight annas. It has been estimated that during the first half of last century the state, in addition to the half-a-dozen mintages which represented its official currencies, had thirty or forty others, which were from ten to fifty per cent. below standard value. These debased tokens gradually superseded the state rupees, as the latter were bought up as fast as they were minted, and transmitted by speculative sowcars to private manufactories of coin where they were melted, re-alloyed and issued as one of the numerous brands of money in circulation. It appears that anyone who was prepared to pay for the privilege was permitted to coin rupees, and at one time there were between thirty and forty private mints in active operation, turning out lakhs of spurious money, which found its way to all parts of the Nizam's dominions. . . . Sir Salar Jung introduced the Halli Sicca as the state coin in the early 'fifties, and all other mintages were declared to be no longer current. As, however, no endeavour was made to recall and convert the numerous varieties of old rupees, they continued to circulate, and until quite recently lakhs of them were in use in the districts. As the rupees were all hand-made they were easily counterfeited, and, doubtless, large additions were foisted on the state currency by this means. Ten or twelve years ago (1896), improvements in the Hyderabad currency commenced with the introduction of a machine-made rupee, with milled edges (Fig. 11); but it was soon apparent that the expert coin-forgers in the state were able to imitate it, as facsimiles appeared which could not be differentiated from the genuine tokens. At length, on the recommendation of Mr. Casson Walker, the Assistant Financial Minister, it was decided, to build a new mint and equip it with machinery and coining presses from England, capable of turning out two or three lakhs *per diem*; and to recall gradually the Halli Siccas and the older currencies, and

replace them with coins which could not be readily imitated. The manufacture of the new rupee, styled the Mahbubia (Fig. 13) as a compliment to the ruler who declined to abrogate his currency privileges, was begun three years ago (1904) and up to date some six and a half crores of coins, inclusive of four-anna and two-anna pieces, have been minted and placed in circulation. . . . The copper coinage (Fig. 16) which has also been taken in hand, is giving an infinity of trouble owing to the ingenious devices of both the Shroffs and Bunniah. The official rate of exchange is 96 pice per rupee, but the public rarely obtain more than 86, the difference being absorbed by the money-changers, who, having been accustomed for years to fix their own rates of exchange, will not accept the Government standard. The difficulty is being solved to some extent by the daily sale at the Treasury and other official depôts of some thousands of pice at the official rate ; but the amount placed in circulation by this means is not sufficient to meet the demand and so check the fleecing of the public."

The above extracts from a leading article in the *Madras Mail* are a good description of the state of the currency in the Nizam's dominions down to the year 1907. In remote stations when a rupee was exchanged for copper coins, the money-changer seldom gave 86 of the recognised Hyderabad pice for it, for, by a careful examination, it would be found that he had included several tokens of kings who long since had ceased to reign in the Deccan. These coins were not supposed to be legal tender, but the old square *dubs* of former Nizams had become so worn as to be almost unrecognisable, and thus the money-changers had great opportunities for disposing of non-current coins. It was an amusing sight to see the poor villager minutely examine each piece before concluding his bargain, and he had good reason to do so, for the shop-keepers would not accept any money other than the Nizam's, except at a heavy discount.

Even so late as in 1906 the variety of copper coins piled up in heaps on market days in front of the money-changers was astonishing. On examination I have found specimens of the Pathán kings of Delhi, the Báhmáni kings of the Deccan, of Auranzébe, of Akbar, of Tipu of Mysore, and coins of various villages, besides many others too

numerous to mention. Money from all parts of India seems to have been brought into the Deccan in great quantity, to have been readily accepted, and to have remained in circulation. So many different dynasties ruled in the Deccan at various times, every king of each dynasty proclaiming his accession to the throne by issuing money, and so many villages and towns had their own currency, that anything in the shape of a coin must have been accepted. In some parts of the Deccan the shop-keepers would receive square copper coins only, which is the usual shape of the Nizam's coins, but in other parts both square and round coins would be accepted. In order that no objections should be raised on the ground of the shape of the coins, I have often come across many coins which though originally round had been cut by the agents of the money-changers. I obtained in change a specimen of one of the issues of Alá-ud-din, Áhmad II. a Báhmáni king of the Deccan, A.D. 1437-1457, so clipped as to resemble one of the Nizam's coins. The money of the Sultans of Malwa being square was occasionally found amongst the Nizam's *dubs*.

From the foregoing remarks it will be seen that coin collecting in the Deccan is not a very expensive occupation, even if the rate of exchange demanded by the money-changers is given, namely, 86 pice to the Nizam's rupee, about one shilling and two pence. Whilst stationed in the Deccan in 1906, I heard that the money-changers were collecting the old currency of the Nizam with a view to sending the coins to Hyderabad to be melted down for the new currency; and thinking that more active steps than waiting to enlarge my collection by what I received in change, should be taken, I paid several visits to the bazaars before the old coins disappeared. The money-changers, however, suspecting that I wanted the coins for a collection and not for purposes of small change, at once put up their rates. I was at first surprised, especially as I was told that no other coin collector had resided in that cantonment before, and having been cheated for months to the extent of ten pice per rupee in change required for household expenses, I paid no further visits to them, but adopted another plan. I gave a few elementary lessons in coin reading to a very intelligent and smart Mussalman, and sent him to all the villages and towns in the district

with instructions as to what he was to purchase. The result was better than I expected, as he was able to purchase copper coins at the rate of 96 to the Nizam's rupee, and made an arrangement with the people from whom he bought them to return those which he found he did not require after reaching home. The only copper coins which the village money-changers refused to let him have at this rate, were the copper issues of Akbar, and no wonder, considering their weight. The silver coins he purchased by weight,¹ but he was not long in finding out that it was a mistake to select one or two copper pieces out of a heap and then to try and bargain for them, for he rarely succeeded. If he wanted to purchase even a few out of a bag-full, he found it considerably cheaper to buy the lot. This of course was when he had become well known in the villages and the rate of copper coins had consequently commenced to rise.

Having occasion to visit the ancient city of Daulatabad where he had lately been collecting, I thought I would make a few enquiries in the bazaars, but was told that an eccentric Mussalman on a bicycle, which was his usual mode of travelling, had examined all the money in the village, and taken all away with him that he wanted. At a later date he paid another visit to the place, but returned very dejected saying that some sahib, meaning myself, had been making enquiries there about the coins of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq, and that in consequence, the prices had gone up so considerably, that he was unable to do any business. After this experience I made no further inquiries for coins in other places I visited, but left it entirely to him, contenting myself with arranging his tours on the map, and ascertaining the ancient villages where he would be most likely to find what I required. Thus, the acquisition of coins was a very easy matter for me, and I was saved the annoyance of bargaining with natives, who invariably ask considerably more than the real value, and I had the pleasure of spending many hours during the long hot Indian day examining his collections, identifying, and cataloguing them.

¹ When forming a collection of the coins of Mysore in 1890 I often found the villagers in remote places in Mysore perfectly willing to sell their copper coins by weight, which, it need scarcely be said, was a great saving of time and trouble.

At the same time he was most useful in acquiring information as to what the natives knew about the local coins. As a general rule the money-changers knew absolutely nothing about many that until quite recently had been in circulation ; but occasionally one of them would be able to give the name of the town or village where they had been coined, or where they were more frequently met with. The name of the person who had issued them and even the dates were unknown to them, and, in fact, to the more educated of the natives. A great number of coins obtained in Aurungabad were attributed to the Mogul Emperor Aurangzib, in whose reign, Aurungabad was the capital of the Deccan. About eight miles from Aurungabad is the ancient city of Daulatabad, and six miles further on are the famous caves of Ellora, and from the villages around these places many specimens were obtained. Daulatabad was a very wealthy city in ancient days, for when 'Alau-'d'-din, afterwards Emperor of Delhi, captured it in the year 1293 and the citadel still holding out, he was induced to raise the siege of the latter on receiving the incredible ransom of 15,000 lbs. of pure gold, 175 lbs. of pearls, 50 lbs. of diamonds, and 25,000 lbs. of silver. The coins of 'Alau-'d'-din even now are very plentiful, also those of Muhammad Bin Tughlak, who, in A.D. 1338, removed the inhabitants of Delhi to Daulatabad. The latter place has been said to be the same as the ancient Tagara, and "there must have been a vast population in this region at the time the Ellora caves were excavated, for these works could have been finished only by multitudes great as those that erected the Pyramids. However, it is now thought that Tagara was built on the plateau of hills to the north of Daulatabad, and that this isolated hill was merely a defence of the city. Extensive ruins have been discovered on the said plateau, but it is possible that interesting discoveries might be made there if anyone would go with tents and a sufficient staff to examine the ground." I quote this extract from *Murray's Handbook to Madras*, 1879, because I purchased many coins of Alá-ud-din and Muhammad Bin Tughlak from ryots who had found them on this particular site.

Being much puzzled by many of the silver coins, which were once current in the Aurungabad district, and are now occasionally found in

the money-bags of the shroffs, and being unable to get any reliable information from the inhabitants of that place, I referred to the following note in the *Gazetteer of Aurungabad*, 1884, which I quote for the benefit of anyone who may be interested in this particular currency, although it did not give me much assistance in identifying my specimens :—

“ The silver coins formerly current in the district were the Siri Sicca, Zaripathka, Belapuri, Govind Bakshi, Zulfikari, Chandor Sicca, Pipalneri, Vaphigao, and Pistan Shahi. The Siri Sicca was the coin of the Hindu rajahs previous to the Mahomedan conquest, and the Zaripathka was current at the time of the Peshwas. The Govind Bakshi, Zulfikari, and Pistan Shahi derived their names from the persons who introduced them ; and the Pipalneri, Belapuri, Vaphigao, and Chandor Sicca from the towns in which they were coined. The Govind Bakshi had an impression of a flower on one side, the Pipalneri, the leaf of the pipal tree, the Belapuri, the face of the sun, the Pistan Shahi a scimitar, and the Zulfikari a poniard. The value of the Chandor coin compared with each of the Pipalneri, Belapuri, and Vaphigao, was Rs. 100 to Rs. 101 ; and with the Halli Sicca currency Rs. 100 to Rs. 105 or Rs. 106. The Govind Bakshi was equal in value to the Chalni or to the Pistan Shahi, and the Zulfikari to the Halli Sicca.

“ The copper coins that prevailed were the seorai, jamodi, dhabbu, and siahi. The seorai-pice weighed $11\frac{1}{2}$ mashas = $172\frac{1}{2}$ grs. troy, and 16 gaudas of them, *viz.* 64, were given in exchange for a chandor rupee. The jamodi, or siahi-pices, were exchanged at the rate of 14 gaudas, *viz.* 56, for a Surti or British rupee. The dhabbu weighed 18 mashas = 270 grains troy, and was exchanged at 8 gaudas, *viz.* 32, for a Chandor rupee. The siahi and dhabbu are still (1885) sparingly current, the former passing off for an alamgiri-pice, and the latter for two of the same.

“ The gold coins consist of the Akbari, Bijapuri, and Indore gold mohurs, valued respectively at 22, 23, 15 or 16 Halli Sicca rupees.”

The following remarks on the coinage of Aurungabad are made on p. 735 of the *Gazetteer of Aurungabad* :—

“ Gold mohurs are very scarce (1847–1850), and when wanted, have to be purchased at from Rs. 19 to 21 ; there is a mint, but no money has been coined for a long period, excepting a few half and quarter rupees on occasions of festivals ; the rupees in general currency are the Chulnee, Chandore, and Moonkhee (Bombay) ; the value of these is

always fluctuating, the present rate of exchange being 15 gaudas to the Chulnee, $17\frac{1}{2}$ to the Chandore, and $17\frac{3}{4}$ to the Moonkhee rupee. The copper coins are of two descriptions, a smaller pice called the alamghiri and a larger called the dhabbu; at the present rate of exchange, 60 smaller or 30 larger pice equal the Chulnee rupee. Cowries are valued at the rate of 1350 gaudas to a rupee, and in purchasing them in the bazaar, a profit is made by the money-changer of 6 cowries on every pice-worth. In former days the money revenue of the country was paid in tukkuhs or copper coins, with many shells and little gold. In exchanging money, half a pice is charged on each rupee."

THE COINS OF THE NIZAM OF THE DECCAN.

Fig. 1.—The Halli Sicca Rupee of the 9th Nizam, Mir Mahbub Ali Khan. Weight $173\frac{1}{2}$ grains. Sir Salar Jung introduced this rupee in the early 'fifties.

Obverse.—

اصف جاد نظام الملك م بهادر سكه ۱۲۸۶	}	"Current coin of Asoph Jah Nizam ul Mulk Bahadur 1286" [A.D. 1869]. Initial M of the Nizam.
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Reverse.—

۱ جلوس میمنت مانوس فرخنده بنیاد حیدرآباد	}	"Struck at Hyderabad, of happy foundation, in the first year of his auspicious reign."
--	---	--

Nizam-ul-Mulk means "Regulator of the Country." Another title of the reigning authority in Hyderabad is ASOPH JAH—of the rank of Asoph, supposed to have been one of the ministers of Solomon, the Hebrew monarch; and the government of Hyderabad is, in consequence, frequently called the Asopheea State. All the Nizam's sons have the word JAH appended to the names given them. Every title, however, bestowed upon previous Nizams is assumed by his successor. Until the destruction of the phantom court of Delhi in 1857, the Nizam admitted that he administered his government as the delegate of the Emperor. Coins were struck in the Emperor's name. In the seal he called himself "the servant of the Emperor." During the existence of the Delhi dynasty, the Nizam's official designation was "Soobehdar of



the Deccan," *i.e.*, governor.¹ The full name of the present Nizam is Mir Mahbub 'Ali khan Bahadur Fath Jang ["victor in battle"] Nizam u d'daulah ["the administrator of the State"] Nizam ul Mulk.

Nos. 2, 3, 4.—Smaller pieces not here illustrated.

Fig. 5.—Is the $\frac{1}{16}$ part of the rupee.

Figs. 6, 7, 8.—Show the size and shapes of the copper dubs, each containing a portion of the inscription on Fig. 1; almost every coin differs from the others in shape. Many of these dubs were coined in brass.

Fig. 9.—Is a copper coin of the 8th Nizam, Afzalu d'daulah [A.D. 1857-1869], Date 1281 A.H. [A.D. 1864]. These coins are now by no means common in the Deccan.

Fig. 10.—Illustrates a copper dub of the 5th Nizam of the Deccan, Nizam Ali Asaf Jah, and dated A.H. 1206 [A.D. 1791]. The dubs of previous Nizams were apparently similar, differing only in date, ornamentation, and length of title.

Fig. 11.—The machine-made rupee introduced in 1896 and extensively forged. It was withdrawn from circulation shortly after its introduction, and the former rupees, Fig. 1, were apparently coined again, for several of the latter bear the date A.H. 1317 [A.D. 1900]. Inscription on the machine rupee is the same as on Fig. 1, with the exception of the dates.

No. 12.—Half-rupee not illustrated.

Fig. 13.—The handsome Mahbubia rupee introduced into circulation in 1904.

Obverse.—A representation of the well-known Char Minar of Hyderabad.

Inscription above, between the minarets, اعف حاد ٩٢

„ below سنه ١٣٢١

Year 1321 [A.D. 1904]

„ right نظام الملك

„ left ببادر

Reverse.—Value in the centre ايك روپيه One Rupee.

Round. فرخنده بنياد حيدرآباد جلوس ٣٨ عيمنت مانوس

ضرب = Struck at Hyderabad, of happy foundation in the 38th year of his auspicious reign.

Nos. 14, 15.—Smaller pieces not illustrated.

Fig. 16.—The Mahbubia half anna.

Obverse.—The Nizam's sign manual containing his titles as on No. 13.

Reverse.—As on 13, but نيم انه = Half anna.

¹ *History of the Nizams.*

Figs. 17A, 17B, 17C, and 17D.—These silver coins are from the cabinet of Mr. Robert Inglis, who brought to my notice the fact that each Nizam placed his initial on his coin.

17A.—A rupee of Nizam Afzal-ad-daulah, A.H. 1273–1286 = A.D. 1857–1869, dated 1275. Note the initial | (A) on the obverse.

17B.—A rupee of Nizam Sikandar Jah, A.H. 1218–1244 = A.D. 1803–1829, dated 1231. Note the initial س [S] on the obverse.

17C.—A rupee of Nizam Afzal-ad-daulah.

17D.—A quarter rupee of Nizam Nazir-ad-daulah, A.H. 1244–1273 = A.D. 1829–1857, dated 1272. Note the initial ن [N] on the obverse.


Fig. 18.—A very large number of these copper coins was in circulation in Aurungabad in 1906, and although repeated enquiries were made from the natives of the city as to the mint-town, all were unanimous in declaring that the pieces were coined in Daulatabad, eight miles from Aurungabad, and pointed to the mint-mark  in confirmation of their statement. The reverses of the coins gave little information on the subject, until I spent several hours on one occasion examining hundreds of them. when I was rewarded for my trouble by finding two or three with the name of the mint-town almost complete as in Fig. 19. I mention this fact as an example of how soon the particulars of the mintages are forgotten by the natives, even in the place of mintage itself, the date of coinage being A.H. 1275, i.e. A.D. 1858.

Fig. 19.—

Obverse.—

محمد بهادر	}	"Auspicious coin of the Emperor Muhammad Bahadur, 1275."
شاد		
۱۲۷۵ بادشاه غازي		
سکه مبارک		

Reverse.—

مانوس	}	"Struck at Khujsta Bunyad in the [?] year of his auspicious reign."
میمنت		
سنه		
جلوس		
ضرب		
خجسته بنیاد		

This coin was struck in the name of Bahadur Shah II., Emperor of Delhi, A.D. 1837-1857, at Aurungabad: Khujsta Bunyad, being the Muhammedan title of this town signifying "of happy foundation."

Fig. 20.—The half piece of Fig. 19: not so common as the former.

Figs. 21 and 22.—Dubs bearing the same mint-marks, probably Aurungabad, as Figs. 18, 19, and 20, and portions of the Nizam's titles.

Fig. 23.—Very common coins in Aurungabad, weight about 182 grains, issued in the name of Bahadur Shah, Emperor of Delhi, 1837-1857, by Nizam Nazir-ad-daulah, bearing a star as mint-mark and letter ن [N] the initial of the Nizam. The shroffs said they were coined in Satara. I was unable to procure a good specimen with the name of the mint-town; only a small portion of بهادر شاه بادشاه غازی = Bahadur Shah, Victorious Emperor, appearing on single coins.

Fig. 24.—As Fig. 23 but clipped into the shape of the ordinary Nizam's dubs.

Fig. 25.—Copper pice struck by Nizam Nazir-ad-daulah in the name of Bahadur Shah, Emperor of Delhi.

Obverse.—

محمد بهادر شاه
ن
بادشاه غازی
۱۲۶۲

"The victorious Emperor Muhd. Bahadur Shah, 1262 = A.D. 1848." Initial ن [N].

Reverse.—

[مانوس]
میمنت
جلوس
ضرب
[خجستہ بنیاد]؟

"Struck in the [?] year of his auspicious reign at Khusjta Bunyad (? Aurangabad)."

Fig. 26.—Copper pice with the initial ن [N] of Nazir-ad-daulah. As on Fig. 25 but date 1272 on obverse, and with a scimitar on reverse.

Fig. 27.—Rupee issued in the name of Bahadur Shah II., with star on obverse and scimitar on reverse. Date 1256 = A.D. 1840, and fourth year of that Emperor's reign.

Fig. 28.—A rupee similar to Fig. 27, but issued in the name of the Emperor Akbar II., A.D. 1806-1837, and dated A.H. 1242 = A.D. 1847.

Fig. 29.—The silver four-anna-piece of Nizam Nazir-ad-daulah.

Fig. 30.—A very common copper pice found in Aurungabad, dates A.H. 1217 and 1218, and issued in the name of the Emperor Shah Alam II., A.D. 1759-1806, by Nizam Sikandar Jah.

Obverse.—

شاد عالم [بادشاه غازی] [۱]۲۱۸	}	"The victorious Emperor Shah Alam 1218."
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No. 31.—Smaller. Not illustrated.

Two-pronged scimitar on reverse.

Fig. 32.—Copper pice issued in the name of Akbar II., Emperor of Delhi, 1806-1837, by Nizam Sikandar Jah, and occurring in large quantities in Aurungabad. Dates from A.H. 1221 to 1237 inclusive.

Obverse.—

محمد اکبر شاد بادشاه غازی سکه مبارک	}	"Auspicious coin of the victorious Emperor Muhd. Akbar Shah."
---	---	--

Reverse.—

مانوس میمنت سنه ۴ جلوس ضرب	}	"Struck at . . . in the fourth year of his auspicious reign."
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Although these coins occur in great abundance, it is almost impossible to procure one with the mint-town inscribed on it. On one or two it appears to be

نگر = Nuggur.

Figs. 33, 34.—Common. Probably Buddhist coins, weights varying from 43 to 140 grs., with elephant standing to right on the obverse.

Figs. 35, 36.—Andhra coins weighing $54\frac{1}{2}$ and 69 grs., composed of an alloy of copper called "potin."

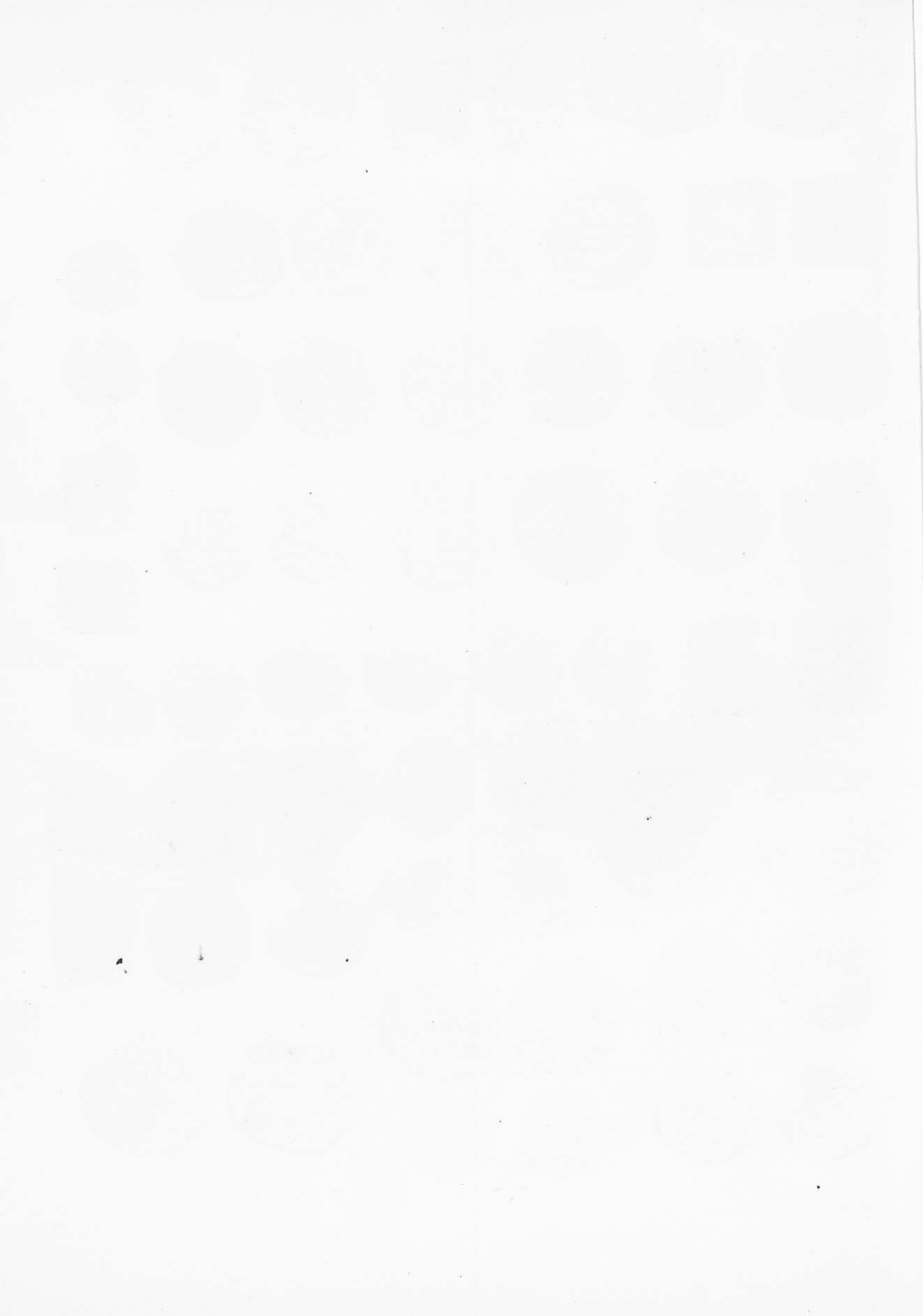
Obverse : Elephant to right.

Reverse : The "Ujjain Symbol," *cf.* *I.M.C.*, No. 20, Pl. XXIII.

The territories occupied by the Andhra Dynasty, 232 B.C. to A.D. 236, extended "across India along the course of the Godaveri from its mouth on the shores of Bengal to its source in the mountains of the Western Ghats. Southwards their dominion was carried into the northern parts of Mysore, and northwards, perhaps, as far as the Narbada."¹

¹ *I.M.C.*, p. 208.





PATHÁN KINGS OF DELHI.

The copper coins of these kings are especially numerous, but as the majority have been figured in Thomas's *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Delhi* or the British Museum's *Catalogues*, it will be sufficient if I mention the names of the kings whose coins are most frequently found, viz., those of Shams-ud-din Altamsch, A.D. 1210-1235, Muizz-ud-din Bahram Shah, 1239-41, Ala-ud-din Mas'aud Shah, 1241-46, Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Shah, 1246-65, Ghias-ud-din Balban, 1265-87, Muizz-ud-din Kaikubad, 1287-90, Jalal-ud-din Firoz Shah II., 1290-95, Ala-ud-din Muhammad Shah, 1295-1315—very numerous, Kutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah, 1316-20, Ghias-ud-din Tughlak Shah, 1320-25, Muhammad Bin Tughlak, 1324-51—especially plentiful, there being over twenty varieties, and the coins are generally in a very good state of preservation. After this king the money of his successors is rare in the Deccan.

Fig. 37.—Probably an issue of Nasir-ad-din Mahmud I., Sultan of Delhi, A.H. 644-664=A.D. 1246-1265, as this coin agrees with the types of his successors *Ghiyas-ad-din*, *Mu'izz-ad-din* and *Jelal-ad-din*.

Obverse.— ناصر الدنيا و الدين

Reverse.— السلطان الاعظم

Fig. 38.—'Ala-ad-din, A.H. 695-715=A.D. 1295-1315.

Obverse.— علاء الدنيا و الدين

Reverse.— السلطان الاعظم

Cf. *I.M.C.*, 239.

Fig. 39.—Copper coin of 'Ala-ad-din. Weight, 119 grs. A similar coin is figured by Thomas as occurring in silver.

Obverse.— السلطان الاعظم

علاء الدنيا و الدين

أبو المظفر محمد شاد

السلطان

Reverse.— سكندر الثاني

ناصر اليمين الخليفة ناصر = "Right hand of the Khalifat."

أمير المؤمنين

Margin.—

ضرب هذه الغضة بحضرة سنه (?) مائه

Fig. 40.—Copper coin of Ala-ad-din.

Obverse.—

السلطان
الا عظم علا الدنيا
والدين

Reverse.—

ابو المظفر
محمد شاه السلطان

B.M.C., No. 195. *I.M.C.*, 219.

Fig. 41.—Copper coin of Kutb-ad-din, Mubarak Shah, A.D. 1316-1320.

Obverse.—

خليفه العالمين
قطب الدنيا
والدين

Reverse.—

مباركشاه
ابو المظفر
السلطان بن السلطان
الواثق بالاد

Fig. 42.—Muhammad Bin Tughlak, A.D. 1324-1351. Specimens of this coin in silver and in copper were obtained in Daulatabad.

Obverse.—

السلطان
السعيد الشهيد
تغلق شاه سنه
ثمان وعشرين
وسبعائه

Reverse.—

ضرب
في زمن العبد
الراجي رحمه
الله محمد بن

B.M.C., No. 268 (*Ar*), *I.M.C.*, 309 (*Au*).

Fig. 43.—Copper coin of Muhammad Bin Tughlak.

Obverse.—

بن
محمد
تغلقشاه

Reverse.—

السلطان
العاذل

Probably *B.M.C.*, 281, *I.M.C.*, 339.

I may mention that on one occasion I obtained more than twenty specimens of *Thomas*, No. 196, described by that author as “very rare,” four of *Thomas*, No. 204, described as “unique,” and about twenty of his Nos. 205 and 206, described as “rare”—all in the vicinity of Daulatabad.

MOGUL EMPERORS OF INDIA.

The most numerous copper coins of the Mogul emperors occurring in the Deccan are the dams of Akbar, A.D. 1556–1605, those struck in the Urdu-i-Zafar Quarin or “victorious camp” being frequently in evidence. Two or three varieties of this mint are found, the common date being A.H. 1000, A.D. 1593. Akbar’s dams of Lahore, Malpur, Dogam, Delhi, Chaitaur, Illahabas (Allahabad), Narnol and Gobindpur are occasionally met with. The silver coins of Akbar and of Shah Jahan, coins of the latter bearing the name of the mint of Daulatabad, frequently occur, but the most numerous are those of Aurangzib, A.D. 1658–1707, minted in Aurungabad, Golconda, Bijapur and Surat. The half rupees of these three emperors are much scarcer than the rupees.

Fig. 44.—Copper dam of Akbar. Weight, 306 to 310 grs.

Obverse.—

فلوس
اردوی

Reverse.—

ظفر قرین
۴۰ الہی

“Falus struck at the victorious camp in the 40th Ilahi year.”

Fig. 45.—

<i>Obverse.</i> —	فلوس
	الف
	ضرب
<i>Reverse.</i> —	اردو
	ظفر
	قرین

“Falus struck at the victorious camp, 1000” (A.H.).

Fig. 46.—Very common copper coin of Aurangzib. Average weight, 207 grs.

<i>Obverse.</i> —	جلوس مبارک ۱۱۱۷
<i>Reverse.</i> —	مچلی پدین ضرب ۱۱۵۰

“Struck at Machlipatam (=Masulipatam) in the 45th year of his auspicious reign, 1117” (A.H.).

The coins in my collection commence with the date A.H. 1110, and continue to the year 1197, *i.e.*, long after the death of Aurangzib. Those bearing dates 1110 to 1134 are the most common. The next dates are 1170 to 1179, followed by one specimen dated 1197.

Similar coins weighing 106 grains were minted, which evidently represent half the value of that figured. Dates 1115 and A.H. 1118.

Fig. 47.—Copper coin of Aurangzib. Weight, 214 grs.

<i>Obverse.</i> —	جلوس مبارک (سنہ)
<i>Reverse.</i> —	ضرب (ناربول ?)
	Narnol (?) mint.

Fig. 48.—Copper coin of Aurangzib struck at Sholapur.

<i>Obverse.</i> —	فلوس مبارک
<i>Reverse.</i> —	ضرب شولاپور

Fig. 49.—Falus of Aurangzib struck at Surat.

<i>Obverse.</i> —	فلوس اورنگ شاہے زیب
<i>Reverse.</i> —	ضرب سنہ ۱۱۰۰ سورت



Fig. 50.—Copper coin of Aurangzib struck at Surat, occurring in large numbers in the Deccan. Average weight 210 grs.

Obverse.— جلوس مبارک سنہ ۲۳ (?)

Reverse.— ضرب سورت سنہ ۱۰۹۴ (?)

Fig. 51.—Copper coin of Aurangzib, probably struck at Hyderabad in A.H. 1100. Average weight, 202 grs.; very numerous; dates 1100 to 1117 in my collection.

Obverse.— جلوس مبارک

Reverse.— ضرب سنہ ۱۱۰۰ (?)

Fig. 52.—As No. 51, but average weight, 101 grs., date 1103.

Obverse.— جلوس ۳۶ مبارک

Reverse.— ضرب سنہ ۱۱۰۳

Figs. 53, 54, 55.—Copper coins of Alamgir II., A.D. 1754–59, struck at Elichpur (Berar). Very plentiful in the Deccan. Weight, 243–300 grs.

Obverse.— [عالم] شاد [با] دشاد سکه مبارک

Reverse.— فلوس ضرب ایلچپور

J.A.S.B., lxxi, 1902. Not figured.

Fig. 56.—Copper coin of Alamgir, struck at Elichpur.

Obverse.— [عا] امشا بادشاد سکه مبارک

Reverse.— فلوس ضرب ایلچپور

J.A.S.B., lxxi, 1902.

Fig. 57.—Copper coin of Jahandar Shah, A.D. 1712–13, weighing 193 grs., dated A.H. 1124=A.D. 1712.

Obverse.— جهاندار شاد

ابو الفتح ۱۱۲۴

Reverse.— فلوس

Fig. 58.—As No. 57, but weight 213 grs. and غازی in addition on obverse.

Fig. 59.—Copper coin of Farrukh Siyar, A.D. 1713–19.

Obverse.— با بحرور فرخ سیر

Reverse.— سنہ ۱۱۲۴ ضرب

Mint, Dar al Saroor Burhanpore (?)

Fig. 60.—Copper coin of Shah Alam II., A.D. 1759–1806, bearing on obverse the date 1220=A.D. 1805, and چ on reverse. Weight, 255 grs. Rare.

Fig. 61.—Rare copper coin of Shah Alam II., dated 1183=A.D. 1769.

Obverse.—	عالم شاه
Reverse.—	۱۱۸۳ سنه

Another specimen in the collection bears the date 1191.

Fig. 62.—Rare copper coin of Shah Alam II., dated 1195=A.D. 1781.

Obverse.—	۱۱۹۵ بادشاه شاد عالم
Reverse.—	سنه جلوس ۲۲

Fig. 63.—Common copper coin of Shah Alam II., struck at Sholapur. Weight varies from 188 to 204 grs.

Obverse.—	جلوس مبارک شاه عالم
Reverse.—	ضرب شولاپور سنه (?)

Fig. 63A.—Several coins of this type, varying in weight from 213 to 108 grs., were obtained in the Deccan, and may possibly have been issued by the Emperor Akbar.

BÁHMÁNÍ KINGS OF THE DECCAN.

The copper coins of these kings occur in great numbers in the Deccan, but as the copper coinage has been described by Surgeon-Major Codrington in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society*, 1883, it will be sufficient to note the coins which were brought to me from Jalna and to describe the varieties. I was able to procure coins of twelve of the eighteen Báhmání kings. The silver coins are extremely rare.

1st king. Ala-ud-din Hasan Shah Gangu Bahman, A.D. 1347–57.—

7 copper coins. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1898, p. 263, Plate XVII, No. 4.

2nd king. Muhammad Shah Bahman Ghazi, A.D. 1357–74.—

6 copper coins, 3 varieties, *Numismatic Chronicle*, p. 264, Plate XVII, Nos. 6 and 7, and Fig. 64.

- 4th king. Daud Shah, A.D. 1377-78.—
1 specimen in copper, *Codrington*, No. 1.
- 5th king. Mahmud Shan bin Ala-ad-din Hasan, A.D. 1378-96.—
20 copper coins, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1898, p. 265, Plate XVII, Fig. 11.
- 8th king. Firoz Shah, A.D. 1397-1422.—
1 silver coin weighing $164\frac{1}{2}$ grs., 27 copper coins, average weight 79 grs. In addition to the name of the king on the obverse, several have distinct traces of ضرب احساناباد سنة = "struck at Ahsanabad, year . . ." *Codrington*, No. 2.
- 9th king. Ahmad Shah, A.D. 1422-35.—
2 specimens, *Codrington*, No. 3.
17 " " " 4.
3 " " " 5.
- 10th king. Ala-ad-din Ahmad II, A.D. 1435-57.—
1 specimen, *Codrington*, No. 7.
17 specimens " " 8.
10 " " " 9.
21 " " " 10.
10 " " " 11.
- 11th king. Humayan Shah, A.D. 1457-61.—
10 specimens *Codrington*, No. 12, who gives 3 sizes, weighing 246, 165 and 122 grs. Four specimens of another size, weighing 79 grs., were obtained.
- 13th king. Muhammad Shah, A.D. 1463-82.—
35 specimens *Codrington*, No. 13, and Fig. 66.
- 14th king. Mahmud Shah II., A.D. 1482-1518.—
15 specimens, 4 sizes, *Codrington*, No. 14.
9 " 3 " " 15.
- 15th king. Waliu 'llah Shah, A.D. 1522-25.—
3 specimens.
- 18th king. Kalimallah Shah, A.D. 1525.—
27 specimens, *Codrington*, No. 16, who gives 2 sizes, weighing 255 and 170 grs. Two other sizes were procured, weighing 125 and 81 grs.

The first king, Ala-ud-din Hasan Shah Gangu Bahman, was appointed by the Delhi emperor to the command of the army in the Deccan, and when the emperor's power became weaker, he proclaimed himself independent in A.D. 1347, and struck coins in his own name.

"He ruled the whole of the upper basins of the Godaveri and Kistna rivers, *i.e.*, the greater part of the Bombay Presidency south of

Surat, and most of the Nizam's Dominions. At one period of the Báhmáni dynasty it [its dominion] extended beyond the bounds given above, but like all Eastern kingdoms its success only preceded its ruin. The dynasty lasted for nearly two centuries, but finally was split up into kingdoms, which had their capitals at Bijapur, Junair, and Ahmadnagar, Elichpur, Golconda and Bidar. The Báhmáni dynasty is represented by 18 kings."¹

Fig. 64.—Copper coin of Muhammad Shah Bahman Ghazi, A.D. 1357–74.

Obverse.—

بہمن

بن

السلطان

Reverse.—

ابو المظفر

محمد شاہ

Vide Numismatic Chronicle, 1898, p. 264, Nos. 2 and 3 not figured.

Fig. 65.—As Fig. 64, but obverse :

بن

بہمن شاہ

السلطان

Fig. 66.—Copper coin of Muhammad Shah II., A.D. 1463–82.

Obverse.—

محمد شاہ

بن ہمانونشا

السلطان

No. 67.—Variety, not illustrated.

Reverse.—

باللہ

المعتصم

ابو المظفر

Fig. 68.—A copper coin attributed to Nāsir-ud-din Ismail, who was set up as king of the Deccan in A.H. 748=A.D. 1347, and on whose resignation Hasan Gangu became king and founder of the Báhmáni dynasty.

Obverse.—

شاہ

اسمعیل

Reverse.—

سلطان نا

صر الدنيا و الدين

ابو الفتح

} In double circle ; parts of
marginal inscription.

¹ *Coin Collecting in Northern India*, by Rodgers.

THE KINGS OF GUJERAT.

The coins of the following kings are frequently found in the Deccan :—

- 3rd king. Ahmad Shah I., A.D. 1411-42.—
2 or 3 varieties in copper.
- 7th king. Muhammad Shah, "Bigara," A.D. 1458-1511.—
2 varieties in copper.
- 8th king. Muzaffar Shah II., A.D. 1511-25.—
Common, one variety only in copper.
- 11th king. Bahadur Shah, A.D. 1525-36.—
One variety in copper.
- 13th king. Mahmud Shah III., Bin Latif, A.D. 1537-53.
2 varieties in silver, weighing 105 and 52 grs. respectively,
copper coins numerous, one variety only.

Fig. 69.—Copper coin of Ahmad Shah I., A.D. 1411-42, dated A.H. 835 = A.D. 1431.

Obverse.—

السلطان
شاه
احمد

Reverse.—

الدنيا و
[الد]ين
ضرب ٨٣٥

B.M.C., Gujerat, No. 413, Plate XI.

Fig. 70.—Obverse as Fig. 69.

Reverse.—

ناصر الدنيا
والدين

B.M.C., Gujerat, No. 414, Plate XI.

THE SULTANS OF MALWA, ETC.

Coins of the following sultans occur in copper :—

- 4th sultan. Mahmud Shah, A.D. 1435-75.
- 5th sultan. Ghias Shah, A.D. 1482-1500.
- 6th sultan. Nasir Shah, A.D. 1500-10.
- 7th sultan. Mahmud Shah II., A.D. 1510 (also silver coins).

The Malwa issues of the Emperor Akbar of the same square shape as those of the sultans are frequently met with ; also are those of Shah Jahan.

The coins of the sultans of Jaunpur are rarely found in the Deccan.

The copper coins of the Mahratta kings of Satara, known as the Chatrapati, *i.e.*, "Lord of the Parasol," pice, are the most common of all coins in the Deccan—especially the issues of the great Sivaji, A.D. 1674–1680, who assumed the title of "Kohatriya Kulavatamsa Sri Raja Siva Chhatrapati" in A.D. 1674.

MISCELLANEOUS DECCAN COINS.

Figs. 71 and 72 are copper coins varying in weight from 102 to 121 grs., frequently found in the villages round Daulatabad, and said to have been coined in Toka, a village situated on the Godavari, about 26 miles from Aurungabad on the Ahmadnagar Road.

Obverse.—Battle-axe and date 9289 = 1241, A.D. 1825–6.

Reverse.—شاد بادشاد (?)

The reverses of all these coins in my collection are different, yet none of them appear to have been stamped with the name of a mint town.

Fig. 73.—The Elichpur [Berar] hyena copper pice—very plentiful—weight from 173 to 183 grs.

Obverse.—A hyena.

Reverse.—ضرب ایلیم [پور] "Struck at Elichpur."

Fig. 74.—A copper coin of 'Abd'alla Qutb Shah of Golconda, A.D. 1611–72, struck at Hyderabad. These coins occur in great numbers in the Deccan, and vary in weight from 94 to 106 grs. The majority of them are dated A.H. 1068 = A.D. 1657, but some occur with the date 1095 = A.D. 1683, proving that these coins were continued to be minted after that ruler's death. The Qutb Shahi dynasty of Golconda commenced in A.D. 1512, when the founder, a Turkoman chief who came to the Deccan to seek his fortune, being made governor of Telingana, threw off his allegiance to the Báhmání family during the weak government of Mahmud Shah, and assumed the title of King of Golconda.

Obverse.—۱۰۶۸

..... بالسنة

Reverse.—ضرب حیدرآباد دارالسلطنت "Struck at the capital Hyderabad."

Fig. 75.—Common copper coins in the Deccan, but I was unable to acquire any information about the place of mintage or name of the chieftain who issued them, which appears to be ابراهيم = Ibrahim.

Fig. 76.—Common copper coins, said to be issued by one of the villages in the Deccan.

Fig. 77.—Copper coin occurring in great numbers : no information available from native sources.

No. 78.—A variety, not illustrated.

Fig. 79.—Copper coin said to have been issued by one of the villages on the banks of the Godaveri ; similar representations of Hanuman are found carved in stone on the banks of that river. Mr. R. Inglis called my attention to a very similar representation of Hanuman by Princeps, in his *Useful Tables*, Calcutta, 1834, Plate III, Symbol 119, who ascribed it to Kukuratee, near Punnah in Bundelkhund. His figure, however, slightly differs.

Figs. 80 to 83.—Common copper coins, said to have been minted at the ancient town of Pyton (Putton), between the years A.D. 1823 and 1858.

Nos. 84 and 85.—Copper coins—occasionally found in brass—and said to have been minted in one of the Deccan villages, name unknown. Not illustrated.

Many other Deccan coins in silver and copper were obtained in addition to those mentioned above, but as the list would far exceed the limits of the present paper, I have contented myself with referring to those most frequently met with.

During the short time I collected coins in the Deccan, I was also able to procure a fairly representative collection of coins of the following states :—Bhopal, Jaora, Baroda, Rutlam, Dhar, Gwalior, Indore, Bhuj, Mewar, Ujain, Partabgarh, Marwar, Bikanir, Jaipur, Bundi, Alwar, Bhartpur, Kuchawan ; also of the Sikhs and of the East India Company. The majority of them were mixed with the ordinary Hyderabad dubs, but I think I have said sufficient to show what an excellent place the Deccan country is for anyone interested in the fascinating pursuit of Indian numismatics and the records of a bygone age. I did not meet with many coins of Southern India in the Deccan, here and there a stray Mysore coin would make its appearance, but none of the old dynasties. Being chiefly interested in the coins of Southern India, I did not spare any efforts in the attempt to procure them, but without success.

I have to thank Mr. Robert Inglis for his kindness in assisting me in the present paper and for his suggestions as to the reading of the inscriptions on several of the coins.

COIN COLLECTING IN MYSORE.

BY MAJOR R. P. JACKSON, *Indian Army (Retired)*.

IN 1889 Captain R. H. C. Tufnell, under instructions from the Government of His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore, published a catalogue of Mysore coins in the collection of the Government Museum, Bangalore, and being posted to Bangalore in the following year I took advantage of three years in residence there to pay visits to many remote villages in the Province, with a view to obtaining as complete a collection of Mysore coins as I possibly could. There being no railways to these villages in those days, I travelled from village to village by dog-cart, having posted horses in advance and sent on the tents and supplies in a bullock-cart. In many places it was impossible to get supplies other than those used by the natives, and hotels were non-existent. The advent of a European to most of the villages being an uncommon occurrence, and the natives quickly finding out the object of my visit, it was not long before bags of coins were brought to me for sale by the owners, who were only too anxious to exchange them for the more useful current coin of the realm. On many occasions I was able to buy the copper coins at so much the viss, *i.e.*, $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs., which rather surprised me at the time and caused me to inquire if other coin collectors had paid visits there, but I was always answered in the negative. In fact, on one occasion I was asked if I had been deputed by the government to exchange the old coins for new.

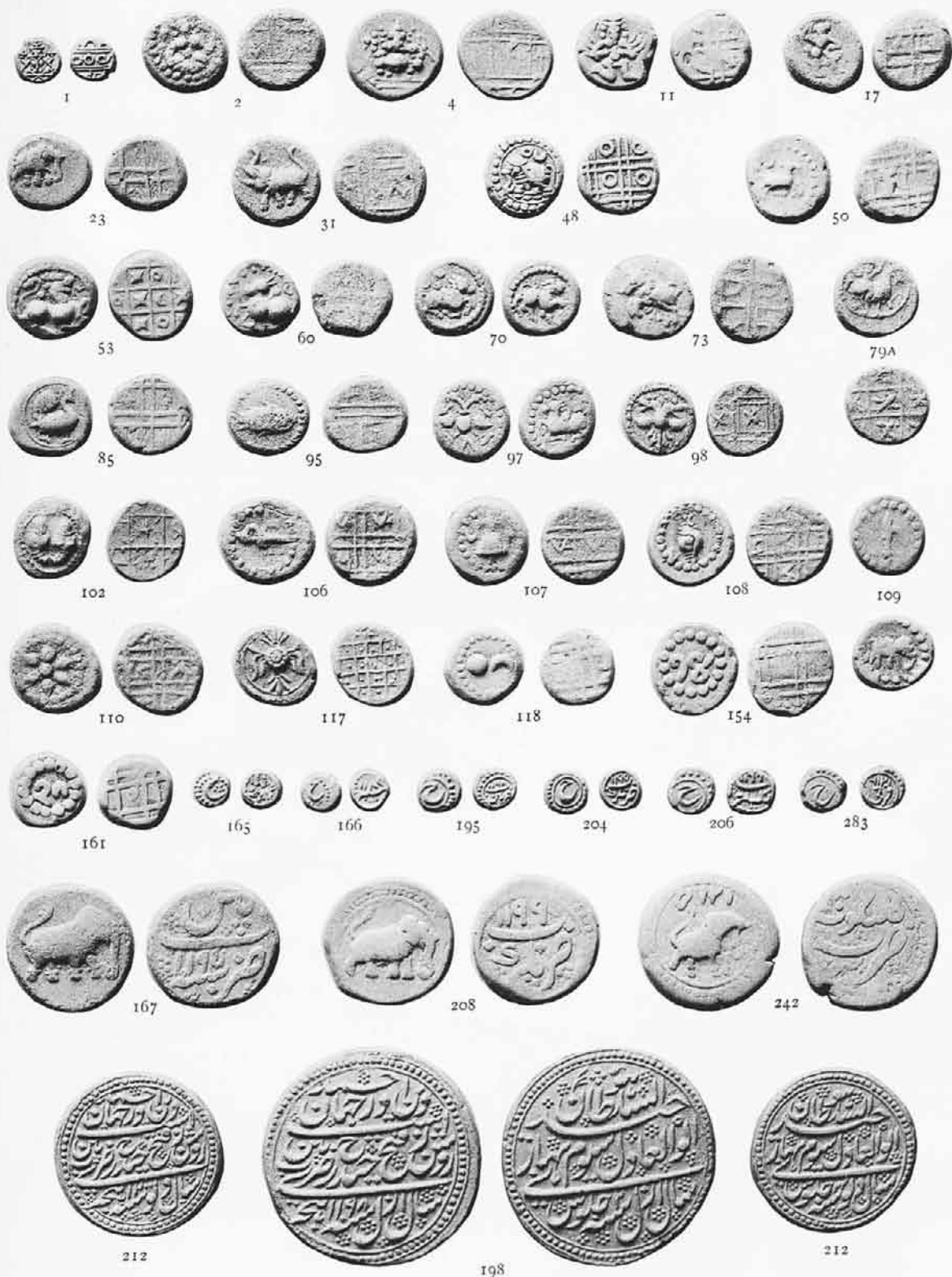
The first visit to a village was invariably the most successful, the second resulting in an enhancement in price. Every new coin obtained I catalogued, also making a drawing of it, and when acquiring new

purchases I often found it necessary to refer to the book. This proceeding I soon found to be very foolish, for the wily Hindu at once thought he had a treasure if the coin was desired. Captain Tufnell used to recommend taking a handful of old coppers and sitting on the doorstep of the village shroff, *i.e.*, the money changer, to try to coax whatever he might have. He, thus, encouraged passers-by to stop and gape, and whatever the village contained would be at his mercy. I often adopted the same plan myself, and have very vivid recollections of sitting on the edge of the platform in front of the shops amidst very unpleasant surroundings. Needless to say, that this was before the bubonic plague broke out in India. Sometimes I was told that there was not a single old coin in the village, which often led me to believe that the natives thought that I had come in an official capacity to see if other than government issues were being circulated, for, after the exercise of great tact and patience, many specimens were lured from their hiding places. At that time, 1890, an old coin to the native mind was of infinitely less interest than the more useful modern piece, but having occasion to revisit my old haunts seven or eight years later, I found that times had changed, and with the times the prices.

I purpose giving a short account of the different kinds of coins of the Mysore Province procured by me, many of which have hitherto not been published, dividing them as under :—

- (1) Pre-Muhammadan issues—or those in circulation before the usurpation of Haidar Ali Khan in A.D. 1761.
- (2) The Muhammadan issues—or those issued by Haidar Ali Khan between 1761 and 1782, and by his son Tipu Sultan between 1782–1799.
- (3) The issues of Krishna Raja Udaiyar, who was made Raja of Mysore by the British after the death of Tipu Sultan at Seringapatam in 1799. This raja died in 1868.

The mintage of Mysore coins ceased in 1843, when the East India Company's coinage was adopted for the Mysore Province.



I. PRE-MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

There was no silver coinage in existence during this period in any of the Hindu States of Southern India, and very little is known concerning the gold and copper coins of the Mysore Province.

Fig. 1. This small gold fanam weighing about six grains and known as the Kanthirava Fanam owing to its having been struck by Kanthirava Narasa Rajah, who ruled in Mysore in 1704-1714, is said to be the earliest issue of a Mysore prince. The accounts of the province were kept in these fanams down to the time of the British assumption, and a re-issue of this particular coin was made after the fall of Seringapatam.

Obverse.—A representation of *Vishnu* (the "Preserver" or second god of the Hindu Triad) in his fourth (or Nara-Singh avatar) descent to earth in a visible form, when, according to the Hindu legend, he issued from a pillar in the form of a man with a lion's head.

Reverse.—Sri.
Kamth (i).
rava.

Nothing is known concerning the following copper coins which were in circulation during this period. These were undoubtedly in common use in Mysore and are not found in any other place in India.

Fig. 2. *Obverse.*—The figure of *Lakshmi*, the consort of the god *Vishnu*, considered as his female or creative energy, sitting enclosed in a circle of dots.

Reverse.—Double cross lines with symbols in open spaces. Weight, 48 grs.

No. 3. As No. 2, but weight 24 grs.

Fig. 4. *Obverse.*—The figure of *Ganesa* or *Ganaputti*, the elephant-headed Hindu god of foresight and prudence, the remover of difficulties—seated to the front on a plain field.

Reverse.—Double cross lines with symbols in open spaces. Weight, 48 grs.

No. 5. *Obverse.*—*Ganesa* seated to the front under a canopy.

Reverse.—Single cross lines and symbols. Weight, 48 grs.

No. 6. *Obverse.*—As No. 4 but double-stamped, with double cross lines and symbols.

- No. 7. *Obverse*.—As No. 4.
Reverse.—Double stamped, with double cross lines and symbols.
 Weight, 48 grs.
- No. 8. *Obverse*.—*Ganesa* seated to the front, enclosed in a circle of dots.
- No. 9. *Obverse*.—As No. 8.
Reverse.—Double cross lines, with five dots in open spaces.
 Weight, 24 grs.
- No. 10. *Obverse*.—*Ganesa* seated to the front on a plain field.
Reverse.—Double cross lines. Weight, 18 grs.
- Fig. 11. *Obverse*.—Figure of *Garuda*, a Hindu demi-god, with the body and legs of a man, the head and wings of a bird—the emblem of strength and speed, kneeling on the right knee, on a plain field.
Reverse.—Double cross lines with symbols in open spaces. Weight, 48 grs.
- No. 12. As No. 11, but *Garuda* kneeling on the left knee. Weight, 48 grs.
- No. 13. As No. 12, but weight 24 grs.
- No. 14. As No. 13, but *Garuda* enclosed in a circle of dots. Weight, 24 grs.
- No. 15. *Obverse*.—*Garuda* kneeling on the left knee, with hands upraised, plain field.
Reverse.—Double cross lines, with symbols in open spaces.
 Weight, 48 grs.
- No. 16. *Obverse*.—The figure of *Hanuman*, the general of the monkey-king, whose deeds are celebrated in the heroic poem of the *Ramayana*, standing to the right with right arm upraised, on a plain field.
Reverse.—Double cross lines. Weight, 48 grs.
- Fig. 17. As No. 16, but symbols in the open spaces of the double cross lines in the reverse.
- No. 18. As No. 17, but *Hanuman* enclosed in a circle of dots. Weight, 48 grs.
- No. 19. As No. 18, but weight 18 grs.
- No. 20. Variant of the *Hanuman* type. Weight, 24 grs.
- No. 21. Similar to No. 20 but 18 grs.
- No. 22. *Obverse*.—Elephant, standing to right, on a plain field.
Reverse.—Double cross lines. Weight, 45 grs.
- Fig. 23. As No. 22, but double cross lines with symbols in open places on the reverse. Weight, 45 grs.

- No. 24. *Obverse*.—Elephant standing to right, but double stamped with cross lines on the elephant.
Reverse.—Double stamped with elephant and cross lines. Weight, 45 grs.
- No. 25. *Obverse*.—Elephant standing to right, surrounded by a circle of dots.
Reverse.—Double cross lines with dots in open spaces. Weight, 18 grs.
- No. 26. *Obverse*.—As No. 25.
Reverse.—Single cross lines with dots in open spaces.
- No. 27. *Obverse*.—Elephant standing to right, with crescent-moon and sun above.
Reverse.—Single cross lines. Weight, 18 grs.
- No. 28. *Obverse*.—Elephant standing to right, with crescent-moon and sun above, surrounded by a circle of dots.
Reverse.—Single cross lines. Weight, 18 grs.
- No. 29. *Obverse*.—Elephant standing to right, with crescent-moon above, surrounded by circle of dots.
Reverse.—Single cross lines, with a cross in each interspace. Weight, 18 grs.
- No. 30. As No. 29, but variant reverse. Weight, 18 grs.
- Fig. 31. *Obverse*.—Elephant standing to left, with the trunk raised as in the act of saluting, on a plain field.
Reverse.—Double cross lines and symbols in open spaces.
- No. 32. *Obverse*.—Elephant standing to left, on a plain field.
Reverse.—Double cross lines. Weight, 43 grs.
- No. 33. Variant of No. 32.
- No. 34. Variant of No. 32. Weight, 45 grs.
- No. 35. As No. 32, but weight 23 grs.
- No. 36. As No. 32, but single cross lines on the reverse. Weight, 23 grs.
- No. 37. *Obverse*.—Elephant standing surrounded by a circle of dots.
Reverse.—Single cross lines. Weight, 18 grs.
- No. 38. As No. 37, but obverse double stamped with single cross lines. Weight, 18 grs.
- No. 39. As No. 37, but double cross lines with dots in interspaces on the reverse. Weight, 23 grs.
- No. 40. *Obverse*.—Elephant standing to left; crescent-moon above; surrounded by a lined circle and ring of dots.
Reverse.—Double cross lines with circles in open spaces. Weight, 42 grs.
- No. 41. As No. 40, but double stamped with double cross lines. Weight, 42 grs.

- No. 42. As No. 40, but double stamped on both obverse and reverse.
Weight, 42 grs.
- No. 43. *Obverse*.—Elephant standing to left, with crescent-moon above, surrounded by a lined circle.
Reverse.—Double cross lines with circles in open spaces. Weight, 42 grs.
- No. 44. *Obverse*.—Elephant standing to left ; sun and moon above ; plain field.
Reverse.—Single cross lines. Weight, 23 grs.
- No. 45. As No. 44, but reverse double stamped. Weight, 23 grs.
- No. 46. *Obverse*.—Elephant standing to left ; sun and moon above ; surrounded by a circle of dots.
Reverse.—Single cross lines. Weight, 23 grs.
- No. 47. As No. 46, but single cross lines with dots in open spaces on the reverse. Weight, 23 grs.
- Fig. 48. *Obverse*.—Elephant, caparisoned, standing to left, with sun and moon above, surrounded by a lined circle and ring of dots.
Reverse.—Double cross lines with circles in open spaces. Weight, 42 grs.
- No. 49. As No. 48, but weight 18 grs.
- Fig. 50. *Obverse*.—A deer galloping to right, with sun and moon above, and dotted flower under the deer, surrounded by a circle of dots.
Reverse.—Double cross lines at right angles with symbols in open spacing—the form of symbol varying on each coin. Weight, 50 grs.
- No. 51. *Obverse*.—A gryphon, couchant, to right on a plain field.
Reverse.—Double cross lines and symbols. Weight, 48 grs.
- No. 52. As No. 51, but gryphon enclosed in a circle of dots.
- Fig. 53. *Obverse*.—As No. 52.
Reverse.—Single cross lines with symbols in open spaces. Weight, 48 grs.
- No. 54. *Obverse*.—A gryphon, couchant, to right.
Reverse.—Single cross lines with five dots in each interspace. Weight, 23 grs.
- No. 55. *Obverse*.—As No. 52.
Reverse.—Single cross lines and dots in open spaces. Weight, 23 grs.
- No. 56. As No. 55, but single cross lines only on the reverse. Weight, 23 grs.

- No. 57. *Obverse*.—A gryphon, couchant, to left, enclosed in a circle of dots.
Reverse.—Single cross lines with dots in open spaces. Weight, 48 grs.
- No. 58. *Obverse*.—A gryphon, standing to left with right paw upraised, on a plain field.
Reverse.—Double cross lines with symbols in open spaces, Weight, 48 grs.
- No. 59. As No. 58, but reverse double stamped.
- Fig. 60. *Obverse*.—A bull, couchant, to left, with crescent-moon above, the whole enclosed in a circle of dots; the space between the dots varying on each coin.
Reverse.—Double cross lines and symbols. Weight, 49 grs.
- No. 61. As No. 60, but on plain field.
- No. 62. As No. 60, but weight 20 grs.
- No. 63. *Obverse*.—Bull, couchant, to left, surrounded by a circle of dots.
Reverse.—Single cross lines with five dots in open spaces. Weight, 20 grs.
- No. 64. As No. 63, but double cross lines with crosses in open spaces on the reverse. Weight, 20 grs.
- No. 65. *Obverse*.—As No. 61.
Reverse.—Double cross lines with a cross in each interspace. Weight, 20 grs.
- No. 66. As No. 60, but with floreated device on the reverse. Weight, 20 grs.
- No. 67. *Obverse*.—Bull, couchant, to right, enclosed in a double-lined circle.
Reverse.—Single cross lines with a cross in each interspace. Weight, 35 grs.
- No. 68. *Obverse*.—Bull, couchant, to right, enclosed in a circle of dots.
Reverse.—Single cross lines with dots in open spaces. Weight 20 grs.
- No. 69. *Obverse*.—Bull, walking to the right, with crescent-moon above, enclosed in a circle of dots.
Reverse.—Double cross lines with a cross in open spaces. Weight, 20 grs.
- Fig. 70. *Obverse*.—Bull, couchant, to right, with sun and moon above, enclosed in a circle of dots.
Reverse.—A dragon to right, enclosed in a circle of dots. Weight, 48 grs.
- No. 71. *Obverse*.—Bull to right, enclosed in a circle of dots.
Reverse.—*Hanuman* enclosed in a circle of dots. Weight, 30 grs.

- No. 72. *Obverse*.—A dog (?) on a plain field.
Reverse.—Double cross lines with circles in open spaces. Weight, 48 grs.
- Fig. 73. *Obverse*.—Horse, with trappings, cantering to left on a plain field.
Reverse.—Double cross lines and symbols. Weight, 48 grs.
- No. 74. *Obverse*.—Horse walking to right on a plain field.
Reverse.—Double cross lines and symbols. Weight, 48 grs.
- No. 75. As No. 74, but weight 20 grs.
- No. 76. As No. 75, but horse enclosed in a circle of dots. Weight, 20 grs.
- No. 77. *Obverse*.—Man on horseback to the right : plain field.
Reverse.—Double cross lines and symbols. Weight, 48 grs.
- No. 78. As No. 77, but weight 17 grs.
- No. 79. *Obverse*.—Man on horseback to the right, spear in right hand : surrounded by a circle of dots.
Reverse.—Double cross lines and symbols. Weight, 23 grs.
- Fig. 79A. As No. 78, but single cross lines with crosses in interspaces on the reverse. Weight, 23 grs.
- No. 80. As No. 78, but variant reverse.
- No. 81. *Obverse*.—Man on horseback to the left, surrounded by a circle of dots.
Reverse.—Double cross lines and symbols. Weight, 20 grs.
- No. 82. *Obverse*.—Two figures on horseback to the right, enclosed in a lined circle.
Reverse.—Double cross lines on a beaded line, with symbols in open spaces. Weight, 23 grs.
- No. 83. As No. 82, but double cross lines and symbols only on the reverse. Weight, 23 grs.
- No. 84. As No. 82, but variant reverse. Weight, 23 grs.
- Fig. 85. *Obverse*.—A peacock standing to right, enclosed in a lined circle.
Reverse.—Double cross lines and symbols. Weight, 48 grs.
- No. 86. As No. 85, but weight 23 grs., and reverse double stamped with single cross lines.
- No. 87. As No. 86, but single cross lines with dots in interspaces on the reverse. Weight, 23 grs.
- No. 88. *Obverse*.—Peacock standing to right on a plain field.
Reverse.—Single cross lines with five dots in interspaces. Weight, 23 grs.
- No. 89. As No. 87, but variant reverse. Weight, 23 grs.

- No. 90. *Obverse*.—Peacock standing to left, enclosed in a circle of dots.
Reverse.—Single cross lines with circles in open spaces. Weight, 23 grs.
- No. 91. As No. 90, but peacock enclosed in a lined circle, and variant reverse. Weight, 23 grs.
- No. 92. Variant of No. 90. Weight, 20 grs.
- No. 93. *Obverse*.—A bird standing to left, enclosed in a circle of dots.
Reverse.—Single cross lines and symbols. Weight, 23 grs.
- No. 94. *Obverse*.—A fish to the left, enclosed in a lined circle, and circle of dots. Weight, 100 grs.
- Fig. 95. *Obverse*.—A fish to the right enclosed by a ring of dots.
Reverse.—Double cross lines and symbols in open spaces. Weight, 48 grs.
- No. 96. As No. 95, but weight 20 grs., and with single cross lines and crosses in the interspaces on the reverse.
- Fig. 97. *Obverse*.—The *ganda bherunda*, or double-headed eagle holding elephants in its beaks and claws, enclosed in a circle of dots.
Reverse.—A bull to left, enclosed in a circle of dots. Weight, 48 grs.
- Fig. 98. *Obverse*.—As No. 97.
Reverse.—Double cross lines with crosses in interspaces. Weight, 23 grs.
- No. 99. *Obverse*.—As No. 98.
Reverse.—Double cross lines only. Weight, 23 grs.
- No. 100. *Obverse*.—As No. 99.
Reverse.—Single cross lines and symbols. Weight, 23 grs.
- No. 101. *Obverse*.—An animal or a bird (?) enclosed in a circle of dots.
Reverse.—Double cross lines with crosses in interspaces. Weight, 23 grs.
- Fig. 102. *Obverse*.—Two plants or flowers, possibly the Indian Brinjal, surrounded by a circle of dots.
Reverse.—Single cross lines with crosses in interspaces. Weight, 23 grs.
- No. 103. As No. 102, but on a plain field. Weight, 23 grs.
- No. 104. As No. 102, but enclosed in a lined circle.
Reverse.—Crosses only.
- No. 105. *Obverse*.—An animal resembling a camel, but scarcely possible as camels are very rare in Southern India. Weight, 48 grs.

- Fig. 106. *Obverse*.—A dagger with edge to the right, enclosed in a circle of dots.
Reverse.—Double cross lines with symbols in open spaces.
 Weight, 48 grs.
- Fig. 107. *Obverse*.—A bell between a crescent-moon and sun, the whole enclosed in a circle of dots.
Reverse.—Double cross lines with symbols in open spaces.
 Weight, 48 grs.
- Fig. 108. *Obverse*.—The conch shell which is often seen in the Hindu temples, enclosed in a circle of dots.
Reverse.—Double cross lines and symbols in open spaces.
 Weight, 48 grs.
- Fig. 109. *Obverse*.—The hook used by the mahouts in guiding elephants, enclosed in a circle of dots.
Reverse.—Elephant standing to right, enclosed in a circle of dots.
 Weight, 48 grs.
- Fig. 110. *Obverse*.—A flower or star, enclosed in a circle of dots.
Reverse.—Double cross lines with symbols in open spaces.
 Weight, 48 grs.
- No. 111. As No. 110, but weight 23 grs., double cross lines and crosses in open spaces on the reverse.
- No. 112. As No. 111, but the flower, or star, enclosed in a lined circle.
 Weight, 23 grs.
- No. 113. As No. 112, but the flower, or star, enclosed in both a lined circle and a ring of dots. Weight, 23 grs.
- No. 114. As No. 112, but with single cross lines and dots in open spaces on the reverse. Weight, 23 grs.
- No. 115. *Obverse*.—A flower, or star, differently shaped than on preceding coins, enclosed in a circle of dots.
Reverse.—Double cross lines with crosses in interspaces. Weight, 23 grs.
- No. 116. *Obverse*.—Flower or star on a plain field.
Reverse.—A bull to the left. Weight, 23 grs.
- Fig. 117. *Obverse*.—A floreated device enclosed in a rim and circle of dots.
Reverse.—Single cross lines with dots in open spaces. Weight, 23 grs.
- Fig. 118. *Obverse*.—The sun and moon enclosed in a circle of dots.
Reverse.—Double cross lines with symbols in open spaces.
 Weight, 48 grs.

KANARESE NUMERAL COPPER COINS.

- No. 120. *Obverse*.—The *Kanarese* numeral ० (1) enclosed in a circle of dots.
Reverse.—Double cross lines with symbols in open spaces.
 Weight, 46 grs.
- No. 121. As No. 120, but variant reverse.
- No. 122. As No. 120, but obverse and reverse double stamped with double cross lines and symbols.
- No. 123. As No. 120, but weight 25 grs.
- No. 124. *Obverse*.—*Kanarese* numeral १ (2) enclosed in a circle of dots.
Reverse.—Double cross lines with symbols in open spaces.
 Weight, 46 grs.
- No. 125. As No. 124, but weight, 28 grs.
- No. 126. *Obverse*.—*Kanarese* numeral २ (3) enclosed in a circle of dots.
 Weight, 46 grs.
- No. 127. *Obverse*.— " ४ (4) " " 46 "
- No. 128. *Obverse*.— " " " " 21 "
- No. 129. *Obverse*.— " ५ (5) " " 46 "
- No. 130. *Obverse*.— " ६ (6) " " 46 "
- No. 131. *Obverse*.— " ७ (7) " " 46 "
- Reverse*.—Double cross lines with variant symbols in open spaces.
- No. 132. *Obverse*.—*Kanarese* numeral ८ (8) enclosed in a circle of dots.
 Weight, 46 grs.
- No. 133. As No. 132, but double stamped with double cross lines.
Reverse.—The double cross lines, etc., surrounded by a ring of dots. Weight, 46 grs.
- No. 134. *Obverse*.—*Kanarese* numeral ९ (9) enclosed in a circle of dots.
 Weight, 46 grs.
- No. 135. *Obverse*.—*Kanarese* numeral १० (10) enclosed in a circle of dots.
 Weight, 46 grs.
- No. 136. As No. 135, but double stamped with double cross lines.
- No. 137. *Obverse*.—*Kanarese* numeral ११ (11) enclosed in a circle of dots.
 Weight, 46 grs.
- No. 138. As No. 137, but double stamped with double cross lines.
- No. 139. *Obverse*.—*Kanarese* numeral १२ (12) enclosed in a circle of dots.
 Weight, 46 grs.
- No. 140. As No. 139, but weight 28 grs.

No. 141. *Obverse*.—*Kanarese* numeral ೧೩ (13) enclosed in a circle of dots.
Weight, 46 grs.

No. 142. *Obverse*.— " ೧೪ (14) " " "

No. 143. *Obverse*.— " ೧೫ (15) " " "

No. 144. *Obverse*.— " ೧೬ (16) " " "

No. 145. *Obverse*.— " ೧೭ (17) " " "

No. 146. *Obverse*.— " ೧೮ (18) " " "

No. 147. *Obverse*.— " ೧೯ (19) " " "

No. 148. *Obverse*.— " ೨೦ (20) " " "

No. 149. *Obverse*.— " ೨೧ (21) " " "

No. 150. As No. 149, but obverse and reverse double stamped. Weight,
46 grs.

No. 151. *Obverse*.—*Kanarese* numeral ೨೨ (22) enclosed in a circle of dots.
Weight, 46 grs.

No. 152. As No. 151, but weight 23 grs.

No. 153. *Obverse*.—*Kanarese* numeral ೨೩ (23) enclosed in a circle of dots.
Weight, 46 grs.

Fig. 154. *Obverse*.— " ೨೪ (24) " " "

No. 155. *Obverse*.— " ೨೫ (25) " " "

No. 156. *Obverse*.— " ೨೬ (26) " " "

No. 157. *Obverse*.— " ೨೭ (27) " " "

No. 158. *Obverse*.— " ೨೮ (28) " " "

No. 159. *Obverse*.— " ೨೯ (29) " " "

No. 160. *Obverse*.— " ೩೦ (30) " " "

Fig. 161. *Obverse*.— " ೩೧ (31) " " "

I was able to procure many specimens of the above coins, and have given their average weight. So far as I know, no opinion as to the authority issuing them has been expressed, but I cannot help thinking that the whole of these copper coins were issued by the local chieftains, and were purely village coins, used instead of cowries. As stated before, I have never found any of them in any part of India except the Mysore Province, and according to the natives, they were current at the same time as the *Kanthirava* gold fanam. The majority of them appear to have been issued in two sizes, the larger being approximately twice the weight of the smaller. When the catalogue of the coins of the Mysore Government Museum was published, sixty-one of these Pre-Muhammadan coins were in that

collection, which included the following four coins which I now describe in order to make this series as complete as possible :—

1. *Obverse*.—A tiger standing to right, in a plain lined circle.
Reverse.—A battle-axe with edge to left, in double-lined circle with dots between. Weight, 95 grs.
2. Variant of No. 1, weighing 48 grs.
3. As No. 2, but edge of battle-axe to right. Weight, 46 grs.
4. Battle-axe with edge to left. Weight, 12 grs.

“ These coins [the four mentioned above] were first attributed to Mysore by Marsden, *Numismat. Orient.*, Pl. II, No. MXLIX, and his theory that they are purely Mysore coins, has not, owing to their occurrence almost exclusively in the province, since met with contradiction. These coins are by some said to have been coined by Tipu. Marsden says that this coin [? type] seems to have been the pattern piece of a coin that did not afterwards become a part of the currency. This specimen was obtained in Bangalore and differs in some trifling points from those figured by Marsden and Moor.”¹

Although I must have handled thousands of Mysore coins I was never able to procure a single specimen of this type, which leads me to the conclusion that it was never in active circulation, but rather the issue of some petty state in the province. When collecting coins in the Deccan about eighteen years afterwards I was able to procure many coins of this battle-axe type, but the obverse did not contain the figure of the tiger : these particular coins were attributed by the natives to one of the Deccan villages.

Before proceeding to the more interesting coins of Haidar and his son Tipu Sultan, I may mention two other copper coins of the pre-Muhammadan period of Mysore, namely, two of the *Kanarese* numeral type bearing the numerals 32 and 33. The specimens in Sir Walter Elliot's collection extended from the numerals 1 to 31, and Captain Tufnell, in commenting on this, states that he has never seen any specimen bearing a higher numeral than 31. However, I have seen the coins bearing the numerals 32 and 33 in Dr. Hultzsch's collection, and they are evidently of great rarity as I could never find any in the villages.

¹ Thurston's *Coins of Mysore*.


These coins of the *Kanarese* numeral type are undoubtedly issues of Mysore, and no one has, as yet, advanced any theory as to what the numbers referred. As almost the whole of the Hindu gods worshipped in Mysore and almost every animal and object had been represented on preceding issues, the persons issuing them must have had a hard task to strike out a new line, and what seems so strange is the utter disregard for the feelings of the natives, to whom a change in the currency is so repugnant. The issue of the *Kanarese* numeral type was attributed by Sir Walter Elliot to Chama Raja V., 1775-1796, in whose reign Haidar usurped the throne, when the Muhammadan currency commenced.

II.—MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.


THE COINS OF HAIDAR ALI KHAN.

A.H. 1175-1197 = A.D. 1761-1782.

Gold Coins—The Pagoda.

No. 162. *Obverse*.—The initial of Haidar, , on a granulated surface.

Reverse.—The third god of the Hindu triad, called *Siva* or *Mahadeva*, representing the principle of destruction and of reproduction, and his wife *Parvati*, often called *Kali*, seated side by side. The former holds a trisul and the latter a deer. Weight, 52 grs.

No. 163. As No. 162, but Haidar's initial reversed .

Half pagoda.

No. 164. As No. 162, but the weight 25 grs.

Fanam.

Fig. 165. As No. 162, but the weight $5\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

Haidar is said to have struck the above coins at Nagar, afterwards known as Bednore, and to have copied the devices on them from the Polygars of Ikkeri after his conquest of that state in A.D. 1763.

Haidar also struck a small gold half-fanam of which the name of the mint place is unknown. It is now very rare, but I was fortunate in procuring three specimens of the following.

Half-Fanam.

Fig. 166. *Obverse*.—Haidar's initial ح on a plain field enclosed in a circle of dots.

Reverse.—سنة ۱۱۸۹ = "year 1189," i.e., A.D. 1775. Weight, about 3 grs.

The above coin is, I believe, the earliest dated coin of Haidar. The Mysore Government Museum has a specimen of his half-fanam, similar to No. 166, but dated A.H. 1196=A.D. 1781.

No silver coins were issued by Haidar.

COPPER COINS.

Fig. 167. 20 cash.—

Obverse.—Elephant standing to right on a plain field.

Reverse.—ضرب پٹن سنه ۱۱۹۵ "struck at Puttun in the year 1195" on a field ornamented with roses. Weight 188 grs.

The British Museum possesses a specimen of a 20 cash piece containing on the obverse ضرب خالاکھاباد "struck at Khalakhabad" and on the reverse سنه ۱۱۹۵ "year 1195." Khalakhabad was the name given by Tipu to the town of Chendghaul near Seringapatam.¹

The name پٹن "Puttun" on No. 167, meaning "City," was applied by the natives of Southern India to Seringapatam, the anglicised name for Shrirangpatnam, deriving its name from a temple of Vishnu, Shriranga. In the time of Tipu, Haidar's son, Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore, is said to have had a population of 500,000.

Undated copper coins of Haidar.

The following coins do not bear any date, which makes it impossible to say whether they are the issues of Haidar or of his son Tipu, but from the general rudeness in the execution, they would appear to have been struck by Haidar, who, during the latter portion of his reign, issued paisas or 20 cash pieces. Haidar does not appear to have coined 40, 10, 5 or 2½ cash pieces, and the undated coins of these denominations have been classified under the issues of his son.

¹ Tufnell.

No. 168. 20 cash.—

Obverse.—An elephant standing to right on a plain field.

Reverse.—ضرب بلاري "struck at Bellary," in a lined circle.

Weight, 186 grs.

Haidar captured various places in the Bellary district in 1779.

No. 169. As No. 168, but slightly varied.

No. 170. As No. 168, but ضرب پتن "struck at Seringapatam," on an ornamented field.

No. 171. *Obverse*.—Elephant standing to left on a plain field.

Reverse.—ضرب نگر "struck at Nagar," now known as Bednore, which Hyder captured in 1763; on an ornamented field.

No. 172. *Obverse*.—Elephant standing to right in a double-lined circle.

Reverse.—ضرب فیض حصار "struck at Feiz-Hisar," on an ornamented field within a double lined circle with dots between.

Tipu is said to have given the name of Feiz-Hisar to the fortress of Gooty in the Bellary district, in which case the coin was probably issued by him.

Undated copper coins of Tipu.

No. 173. 10 cash.—

Obverse.—Elephant standing to left, enclosed in a lined circle.

Reverse.—ضرب نگر "struck at Nagar." Weight, 87 grs.

No. 174. *Obverse*.—Elephant standing to right, enclosed in double-lined circle and ring of dots.

Reverse.—ضرب فیض حصار "struck at Feiz-Hisar," enclosed in a double-lined circle and ring of dots. Weight, 86 grs.

No. 175. 5 cash.—As No. 174, but weight 41 grs.

No. 176. As No. 175, but elephant enclosed in double-lined circle only.

No. 177. *Obverse*.—Elephant standing to right in a circle of dots.

Reverse.—کلیکوت "Calicut."

Haidar invaded Calicut in 1766, but the town revolting afterwards, was reconquered in 1773. The Mysoreans were expelled by the British in 1782, but Tipu laid waste the place in 1789. It was finally ceded to the British in 1792.

- No. 178. As No. 177, but with a variant reverse.
- No. 179. *Obverse*.—Elephant standing to right in a double-lined circle.
Reverse.—ضرب بنگلور "struck at Bangalore," on an ornamental field, surrounded by a double-lined circle and ring of dots. Weight, 41 grs.
- No. 180. *Obverse*.—Elephant standing to left in a lined circle and ring of dots.
Reverse.—ضرب خالخاباد "struck at Khalakhabad," in a double-lined circle with a ring of dashes between. Weight, 40 grs.
- No. 181. As No. 180, but ضرب خالقه only on the reverse.
- No. 182. 20 cash.—
Obverse.—Elephant standing to right in double-lined circle and ring of dots.
Reverse.—ضرب پتن "Struck at Puttun," on a plain field in double-lined circle and ring of dots. Weight, 174 grs.
- No. 183. As No. 182, but variant obverse.
- No. 184. As No. 182, but with ornamental field.
- No. 185. 10 cash.—As No. 183, but weight, 82 grs.
- No. 186. 5 cash.—As No. 185, but weight, 41 grs.
- No. 187. A very rude attempt at No. 186.
- No. 188. 2½ cash.—As No. 186, but weight, 21 grs.

THE COINS OF TIPU SULTAN.

A.H. 1197-1214 = A.D. 1782-1799.

Those struck in A.H. 1197 = A.D. 1782, at Seringapatam.

- No. 189. *Gold pagoda*.—
Obverse.—Haidar's initial ح and the numeral 1, viz., the 1st year of his reign, on a granulated field within a lined circle and ring of dots.
Reverse.—هو السلطان العادل سنة هجرية 1197 "He is a just king, Hijrah year 1197," within a lined circle and ring of dots. Weight, 51½ grs.
- No. 190. *Gold fanams*.—
Obverse.—Haidar's initial ح on a plain field within a double-lined circle and ring of dots.

Reverse.—۱۱۹۷ پتن سنه ضرب "Struck at Seringapatam in the year 1197," within a double-lined circle and ring of dots, dotted flower underneath. Weight, 5½ grs.

The British Museum contains a gold fanam of same date, struck at Nagar. It will be seen from the above that Tipu retained his father's initials on his coins, and he continued to do so for a long time after the latter's death. This Marsden attributed to a sentiment of filial duty and respect, but it has since been pointed out that he adopted the term, which signifies in Arabic a lion, or by misapplication a tiger, as an emblematical designation equivalent to a family name. Haidar received the title of "Lion of God" from the Khalif.

No. 191. *Copper 20 cash*.—

Obverse.—Elephant standing to right in a lined circle and ring of dots.

Reverse.—۱۱۹۷ ضرب نگر سنه "Struck at Nagar in the year 1197," on an ornamental field enclosed in a lined circle and ring of dots. Weight, 180 grs.

Coins struck in A.H. 1198 = A.D. 1783.

No. 192. *Gold mohur*.—

Obverse.—دين احمد در جهان روشن و فتح حيدر است ح ضرب ۱۱۹۸ "Religion is made illustrious in the world by the victory of Haidar H. Struck at Seringapatam in the Hijrah year 1198, and cyclic year, Azal."

Reverse.—هو السلطان الوحيد العادل سيوم بياري سال ازل سنه جلوس ۲ "He alone is a great and just king. The third day of Bahari, cyclic year Azal and second year of reign." Field ornamented with dotted flowers, and the whole surrounded by a double-lined circle and ring of dots. Weight, 160 grs.

The third day of Bahari corresponds to the 4th May, 1783, when Tipu "was flushed with the victory recently obtained over a British Army on the Malabar Coast."¹ However, the 4th May, 1799, was an unlucky day for him, for he met his death at the hands of the British on that date, when Seringapatam was captured.

¹ *Numism. Orient.*, Pl. II, p. 710.

No. 193. *Gold pagodas*.—

Obverse.—As No. 189.

Reverse.—As No. 189, but year ۱۱۱۸ = 1198.

The year of reign on the obverse of this coin should have been ۲ (2) instead of ۱ (1). There is a specimen in the British Museum with the correct year of reign.

No. 194. *Obverse*.—Haidar's initial ح and numeral ۲ (2nd year of reign) and نگر "Nagar," on a granulated surface, the whole enclosed in a double-lined circle and ring of dots.

Reverse.—As No. 193. Weight, 5½ grs.

Fig. 195. *Gold fanams*.—As No. 190, but year ۱۱۱۸ = 1198 and plain field on reverse. Weight, 5½ grs.

No. 196. As No. 194 but mint town نگر "Nagar."

No. 197. As No. 194, but mint town کلیکوت "Calicut"—ornamented field on reverse.

Fig. 198. *Silver double rupee*.—The same inscriptions on both obverse and reverse as on the gold mohur No. 192. Weight, 349 grs.

No. 199. *Copper, 20 cash*.—

Obverse.—Elephant standing to right on a plain field.

Reverse.—۱۱۱۸ سنه ضرب کلیکوت "Struck at Calicut in the year 1198." Weight, 188 grs.

No. 200. *Copper 5 cash*.—

Obverse.—Elephant standing to right, enclosed in a lined circle.

Reverse.—۱۱۱۸ سنه ضرب پتن "Struck at Seringapatam 1198," in a lined circle. Weight, 41 grs.

There is a specimen of the 5 cash piece, struck at Nagar, dated 1198, in the Mysore Government collection.

Coins struck in A.H. 1199 = A.D. 1784.

No. 201. *Gold mohur*.—As No. 192, but date ۱۱۹۹ (1199) and year of reign ۳ (3).

No. 202. *Gold pagoda*.—As No. 194, but year of reign ۳ (3) and date ۱۱۹۹ (1199).

No. 203. *Gold fanams*.—As No. 196, but date ۱۱۹۹ (1199) with dotted flower on reverse.

Fig. 204. As No. 203, but without the dotted flower.

No. 205. As No. 190, but date ۱۱۹۹ (1199).

Fig. 206. As No. 197, but date ۱۱۹۹ (1199).

No. 207. *Silver double rupee*.—As No. 198, but date ۱۱۹۹ and year of reign ۳ (3) and cyclic year جلو Jalu'. Weight, 350 grs.

Fig. 208. *Copper 20 cash*.—

Obverse.—Elephant standing to right in double lined circle and ring of dots.

Reverse.—As No. 191, but year ۱۱۹۹ (1199).

There is a similar piece in the Mysore collection of the same date but struck at Calicut.

Coins struck in A.H. 1200 = A.D. 1785, at the Seringapatam mint.

No. 209. *Gold pagoda*.—

Obverse.—Haidar's initial ح combined with the mint town پتن and numeral ۴ (4th year of reign) on granulated surface. Enclosed in lined circle and ring of dots.

Reverse.—"He is a just King, year of Hijrah 1200" in Persian, etc. Weight, 5½ grs.

No. 210. *Gold fanam*.—As No. 190, but date ۱۲♦♦ (1200) on reverse and plain field. Weight, 5½ grs.

No. 211. *Silver double rupee*.—As No. 198; but date ۱۲♦♦ (1200) and cyclic year دلو "Dalu" and year of reign ۴ (4). Weight, 350 grs.

Fig. 212. *Silver rupee*.—As No. 211, but weight, 174 grs.

No. 213. *Copper 20 cash*.—

Obverse.—Elephant standing to left: date ۱۲♦♦ (1200) above, the whole enclosed in double-lined circle and ring of dots.

Reverse.—غرب پتن on an ornamental field surrounded by double lined circle and ring of dots. Weight, 174 grs.

No. 214. *Copper 10 cash*.—As No. 213, but weight 82 grs.

No. 215. *Copper 5 cash*.—Similar, but weight 41 grs.

Coins struck in A.H. 1200 = A.D. 1785, at the Bednore mint.

No. 216. *Gold pagoda*.—As No. 194, but ۴ (4) year of reign and date of Hijrah ۱۲♦♦ (1200).

No. 217. *Gold fanam*.—As No. 196, but date ۱۲♦♦ (1200).

A silver double rupee of this mint and date was struck.

No. 218. *Copper 20 cash.*—

Obverse.—Elephant standing to right : date ۱۲♦♦ above : the whole enclosed in double-lined circle.

Reverse.—نَگَرِ غَرِب on an ornamental field and enclosed in a double-lined circle and ring of dots. Weight, 174 grs.

There is a 5 cash piece of this mint and date in the Mysore collection.

Coins struck in A.H. 1200 = A.D. 1785, at the Bangalore mint.

No. 219. *Copper 20 cash.*—

Obverse.—As No. 218.

Reverse.—As No. 218 but بَنگَلُور (Bangalore) as name of mint. Weight, 174 grs.

No. 220. *Copper 5 cash.*—As No. 219, but weight 41 grs.

Coin struck in A.H. 1200 = A.D. 1785, at the Calicut mint.

No. 221. *Gold fanam.*—As No. 197, but year ۱۲♦♦ (1200).

No. 222. *Copper 20 cash.*—As No. 218, but کَلِیکُوت (Calicut) as mint town.

A 20 cash piece with the reverse سَنَہ ۴ غَرِب کَلِیکُوت "struck at Calicut year 4" was also issued. Mr. Ingle's collection.

Coins struck in A.H. 1201 = A.D. 1786, at Seringapatam.

No. 223. *Gold fanam.*—As No. 190, but date ۱۲♦۱ (1201) on a plain field.

No. 224. *Copper 5 cash.*—As No. 215, but date ۱۲♦۱ (1201).

Copper 10 cash and 20 cash pieces of this date coined at Seringapatam and Bednore respectively, are in other collections, but those of this particular date, viz., 1201, are extremely rare owing to the fact that Tipu from the date of his accession in A.H. 1197 to 1200 employed the usual Muhammadian Hijrah system, dating from the flight of the prophet from Mecca, which was a lunar calendar, and in the fifth year of his reign, viz., 1201, he invented a new solar reckoning, which he called مولودی (Muludi) being derived from the Arabic word "Maulud" = born, dating from the prophet's birth in A.D. 571. Thus the coins of 1201 are dated 1215, and the dates written from left to right as in the Hijrah system : later on in the year the new method was introduced and the dates written from right to left. The date of the prophet's

flight to Mecca was A.D. 622, the interval between his birth and flight being about 52 years; the difference between Tipu's new Muludi era being only 14 years is accounted for by the Muludi years being solar and the Hijrah lunar computation.

Coins struck in A.M. 1215 = A.D. 1786, at Seringapatam.

No. 225. *Gold pagoda*.—

Obverse.—Haidar's initial ح combined with the mint town پتن (Puttun) and numeral ۵ (5th year of reign) on a granulated surface with a lined circle and ring of dots.

Reverse.—محمد هو سلطان العادل سنة ۱۲۱۵. "He is a just king. Year 1215," enclosed in a lined circle and ring of dots. Weight, 51½ grs.

No. 226. *Gold fanams*.—

Obverse.—Haidar's initial ح on a plain field, enclosed in a lined circle and ring of dots.

Reverse.—۱۲۱۵ سنة ضرب پتن. "Struck at Puttun. Year 1215," enclosed in lined circle and ring of dots. Weight, 5½ grs.

No. 227. *Gold fanams*.—As No. 226, but date written from right to left ۱۲۱۱.

There is a double rupee and half rupee of the year 1215 in the British Museum collection.

No. 228. *Copper 20 cash*.—

Obverse.—Elephant standing to left; date ۱۲۱۵ above; enclosed in double-lined circle and ring of dots.

Reverse.—ضرب پتن on ornamental field: enclosed in double-lined circle and ring of dots. Weight, 173 grs.

No. 229. *Copper 20 cash*.—As No. 228, but date written ۱۲۱۱ instead of ۱۲۱۵.

No. 230. *Copper 10 cash*.—As No. 228, but weight 87 grs.

No. 231. " " As No. 229, but weight 87 grs.

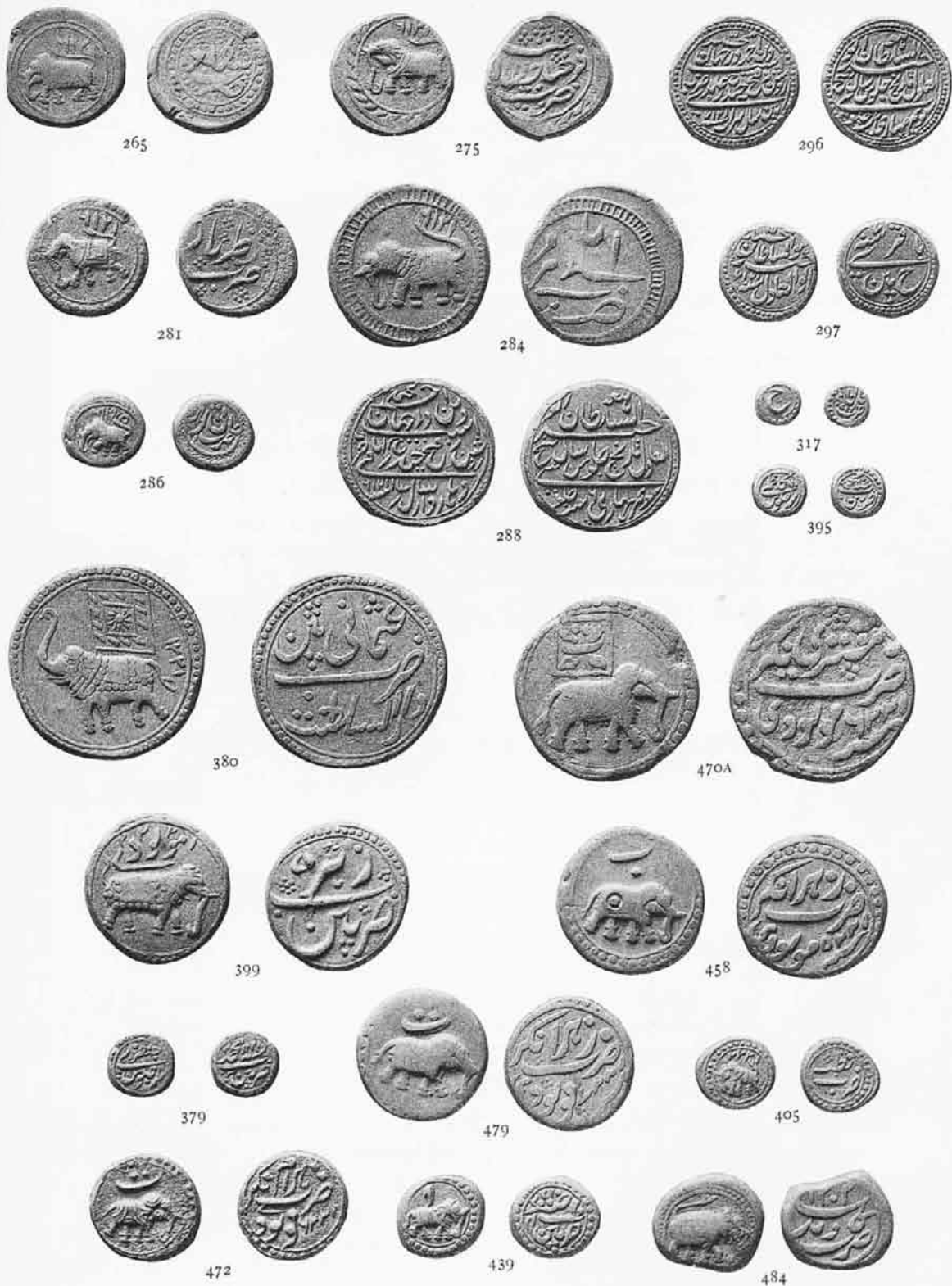
No. 232. " 5 " As No. 228, but weight 42 grs.

No. 233. " " As No. 229, but weight 42 grs.

No. 234. " " As No. 233, but reverse double-stamped.

Coins struck in A.M. 1215 = A.D. 1786, at Bednore.

No. 235. *Gold pagoda*.—As No. 225, but mint town نگر "Nagar" = Bednore.



No. 236. *Gold fanams*.—As No. 226, but as last.

No. 237. " " As No. 227, but as last.

There is a double rupee of this date and mint in the British Museum collection.

No. 238. *Copper 20 cash*.—

Obverse.—Elephant standing to right: date ۵۱۲۱ (1215) above, enclosed in a double-lined circle.

Reverse.—ضرب نگر. "Struck at Nagar," on ornamental field and enclosed in double-lined circle and ring of dots. Weight, 172 grs.

No. 239. *Copper 10 cash*.—As No. 238, but weight 87 grs.

Coins struck in A.M. 1215 = A.D. 1786, at Calicut.

No. 240. *Gold fanams*.—As No. 226, but name of mint کلکوت, "Calicut," and dotted flower beneath it on the reverse.

No. 241. *Gold fanams*.—As No. 240, but date written ۵۱۲۱ instead of ۱۲۱۵.

Fig. 242. *20 cash*.—As No. 228, but name of mint Calicut, and elephant standing to right.

There is a double rupee of this date and mint in the British Museum.

Coins struck in A.M. 1215 = A.D. 1786, at Bangalore.

No. 243. *Copper 20 cash*.—

Obverse.—Elephant standing to right: date ۱۲۱۵ (1215) above: in double-lined circle.

Reverse.—ضرب بنگلور. "Struck at Bangalore," ornamented field, enclosed in double-lined circle and ring of dots. Weight, 174 grs.

No. 244. *Copper 20 cash*.—As No. 243, but date ۵۱۲۱.

No. 245. " 10 " As No. 243, but weight 86 grs.

No. 246. " 5 " As No. 245, but weight 42 grs.

Coins struck in A.M. 1215 = A.D. 1786, at Feiz-Hissar (now Gooty).

No. 247. *Copper 20 cash*.—

Obverse.—Elephant standing to left; date ۵۱۲۱ (1215) above; surrounded by double-lined circle with dotted stars between.

Reverse.—ضرب فیض حصار. "Struck at Feiz-Hisar," ornamented field; double-lined circle and dotted stars. Weight, 173 grs.

No. 248. *Copper 10 cash*.—As No. 247, but weight 86 grs.

No. 249. " 5 " As No. 248, but weight 42 grs. and date written ۱۲۱۵.

Coins struck in A.M. 1215 = A.D. 1786, at Ferukhbad-Hisar.

The town to which Tipu gave the name Ferukhbad-Hisar is not known, but is said to have been Chittledroog, which Hyder captured in 1779, removing 20,000 of the inhabitants to Seringapatam. Tipu seems to have had a propensity for giving fanciful titles to his mint towns, several of which, in consequence, are now unrecognisable. Bangalore and Calicut appear to be the only two which bore the names under which they are at present known.

No. 250. *Copper 20 cash*.—

Obverse.—Elephant to right; date ۱۲۱۵ above; surrounded by double-lined circles.

Reverse.—ضرب فرخباد حصار "Struck at Ferukhbad-Hisar," ornamented field, double-lined circle. Weight, 173 grs.

No. 251. *Copper 20 cash*.—As No. 250, but date written ۵۱۲۱.

No. 252. " 10 " " 250, " half the weight.

The British Museum contains a gold fanam dated ۱۲۱۵ (1215) of the Khalakhabad (Chendghaul, near Seringapatam) mint.

A 10-cash piece was also issued from the Gurrunkondah mint:—

Obverse.—Elephant to right, date ۵۱۲۱ above.

Reverse.—ضرب ظفرآباد Mr. Ingle's collection.

Coins struck in A.M. 1216 = A.D. 1787, at Seringapatam.

No. 253. *Gold pagoda*.—

Obverse.—۶ فاروقی پتن ح سنه "Farukhi struck at Seringapatam in the 6th (year of the reign)." Haidar's initial and the mint town being combined.

Reverse.—۱۱۲۱ محمد هو السلطان العادل الوحيد سنه "Muhammad alone is the just king, year 1216." Weight, 51 grs.

The name *Farukhi* was given to his new pagodas by Tipu in the year following his new system of dates. He changed the names of both his gold and his silver coins. "The names of Tipu's gold coins

likewise refer to Muhammadan holy men. The gold mohur or Ahmadi is derived from احمد = Ahmad, one of the designations of the Prophet himself; the Siddiki (half-mohur) from ابو بكر صديق = Abu Bakr Siddik, the first Khalifa, and the Farukhi (pagoda) from عمر فاروق = 'Umar Faruk, the second Khalifa."¹

No. 254. *Gold fanam*.—As No. 226, but date ١١٢١ (1216).

No. 255. *Silver rupee*.—

Obverse.—دين احمد محمد در جهان روشن رفته حيدر است ح
 ١١٢١ امامي ضرب پتن سال سارا سنه ١١٢١ "The religion of Muhammad is made illustrious in the world by the victory of Haidar H. Imami. Struck at Puttun in the cyclic year 'Sara.' Year 1216." Enclosed in double-lined circle and ring of dots.

Reverse.—هو السلطان الوحيد العادل تاريخ جلوس سال سنه سيدوم
 ٦ بهاري سنه ٦ جلوس "He only is the just Sultan. Epoch of the accession in the year 'Sakh.' Third [day of the month] Bahari, 6th year of reign."

No. 256. *Silver rupee*.—As No. 255, but a much thicker coin, with a plain rim instead of a lined circle and ring of dots.

Tipu called his rupee "Imami" after the twelve imams; his double-rupee "Haidari" after Haidar, a surname of the first Imam علي (Ali); his half-rupee "Abidi" after the fourth imam Zainul-abidin or Abid Bimar; his quarter-rupee "Bakiri" after the fifth imam Muhammad Bakir; his $\frac{1}{8}$ -rupee "Jafari" after the sixth imam Jafar Sadik, and his $\frac{1}{16}$ -rupee "Kazmi" after the seventh imam Musa Kazim. The $\frac{1}{32}$ -rupee, or half-anna piece, he called "Khizri," after Khwaja Khizr, a prophet.² All these coins are in silver.

The Abjad and Abtas systems of cyclic years are explained in Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia*, Part II, p. 704, and in Dr. Codrington's *Musulman Numismatics*, p. 206. The abtas cycle was Tipu's invention.

The Mysore Government collection contains specimens of the half and quarter rupees of this date (A.M. 1216) and mint.

¹ Dr. E. Hultzsch.

² Dr. Hultzsch

No. 276. *Copper 20 cash.*—

Obverse.—Elephant date ١١٢١ above : double-lined circle.

Reverse.—ضرب فيض حصار "Struck at Feiz-Hisar": double-lined circle and ring of dots: plain field. Weight, 173 grs.

No. 277. *Copper 20 cash.*—As No. 276, but date written ٢٠٢١ (error) and with ornamented field on reverse.

No. 278. *Copper 10 cash.*—

Obverse.—Elephant to left : date ١١٢١ : surrounded by lined circle and ring of dotted stars.

Reverse.—As No. 276. Weight, 82 grs.

No. 279. *Copper 5 cash.*—As No. 278, but surrounded by lined circle and ring of dots. Weight, 41 grs.

Coins struck in A.M. 1216 = A.D. 1787, at Zafarabad.

This Zafarabad may be Gurrumcondah.

No. 280. *Copper 20 cash.*—

Obverse.—Elephant to left : date ١١٢١ .

Reverse.—ضرب ظفر اباد "Struck at Zafarabad," ornamented field, double-lined circle and ring of dots.

No. 281. *Copper 10 cash.*—As No. 280, but half the weight.

Coins struck in A.M. 1216 = A.D. 1787, at Nazarbar.

(Present locality not identified.)

No. 282. *Copper 10 cash.*—(Fig. 281.)

Obverse.—Elephant to left : date ١١٢١ (1216), above : surrounded by double-lined circle and ring of dots.

Reverse.—ضرب نظار بار "Struck at Nazarbar," ornamented field : enclosed in double-lined circle and ring of dots.

There is a 5 cash piece of this mint and date in the Mysore collection.

Coins struck in A.M. 1216 = A.D. 1787, at Farakhi (New Calicut).

"This name (*i.e.*, Farakhi) has been taken by Wilkes and Marsden to be that given to a fort near Calicut known as New Calicut."¹

¹ Tufnell.

Fig. 283. *Gold fanam*.—

Obverse.—Haidar's initial ح on a plain field : enclosed in a lined circle and ring of dots.

Reverse.—فرخي ۱۲۱۶ "Farakhi 1216": enclosed in a lined circle and ring of dots.

There are two varieties of a 20 cash piece in the Mysore Government collection of this date and mint.

Coins struck in A.M. 1216 = A.D. 1787, at Salamabad
(Satyamangalam).

Fig. 284. *Copper 20 cash*.—

Obverse.—Elephant standing to left : date ۱۲۱۶ (1216) above : enclosed in a rayed circle.

Reverse.—ضرب سلام آباد "Struck at Salamabad": enclosed in a rayed circle.

A 5 cash piece was also struck here bearing this date.

Coins struck in A.M. 1216 = A.D. 1787, at Khalakhabad
(Chendagal).

No. 285. *Copper 5 cash*.—

Obverse.—Elephant to right : date ۱۲۱۶ (1216) above : enclosed in double-lined circle and ring of dashes.

Reverse.—ضرب خالقه آباد "Struck at Khalakhabad."

Fig. 286. *Copper 5 cash*.—As No. 285, but elephant to left.

Coins struck in A.M. 1216 = A.D. 1787, at Dharwar.

No. 287. *Gold pagoda*.—

Obverse.—Haidar's initial ح and year of reign ۶ (6) with name of mint town دھاروار "Dharwar": the whole enclosed in double-lined circle and ring of dots.

Reverse.—محمد هو السلطان العادل سنة ۱۲۱۶ "Muhammad. He is the only just King. Year 1216."

Fig. 288. *Silver rupee*.—As No. 255, but name of mint دھاروار (Dharwar).

Coins struck in A.M. 1217 = A.D. 1788, at Seringapatam.

No. 289. *Gold mohur*.—"Ahmadi."

Obverse.—محمد دين احمد در جهان روشن است وفتح حيدر ح .
احمدي ضرب پتن سراب سنه ۱۲۱۱

"The religion of Muhammad is made illustrious in the world by the victory of Haidar. H. Ahmadi. Struck at Puttun. Year 1217. Cyclic year Sirab."

Surrounded by lined circle and ring of dots.

Reverse.—هو لسلطان الوحيد العادل تاريخ جلوس سال سنه سيوم .
بھاري سنه ۷ جلوس

"He alone is a great and just King. The third day of Bahari. Cyclic year, Sakh, 7th year of reign." Enclosed in lined circle and ring of dots. Weight, 211 grs.

No. 290. *Gold half mohur* ("Siddiki").—As No. 289, but name of coin عديقي "Siddiki" instead of Ahmadi. Weight, 106 grs.

No. 291. *Gold pagoda* ("Farukhi").—As No. 253, but year of reign ۷ (7) and date ۱۲۱۱ (1217).

No. 292. *Gold fanam*.—As No. 254, but year 1217.

No. 293. As 292, but Haidar's initial reversed 3 and date written ۱۲۱۱ (error).

No. 294. *Silver rupee* ("Imami").—As No. 289, but name امامي "Imami," instead of "Ahmadi." Weight, 174 grs.

No. 295. As No. 294, but a much thicker coin.

There is a double-rupee of this date and mint in the Madras Museum.

Fig. 296. *Silver half rupee* ("Abidi").—As No. 294, but name عابدي "Abidi," instead of "Imami." Weight, 87 grs.

Fig. 297. *Silver quarter rupee*, "Bakiri."—

Obverse.—محمد هو لسلطان الوحيد العادل سنه ۱۲۱۱

"Muhammad, He alone is a great and just King, year 1217." Enclosed in lined circle and ring of dots.

Reverse.—۷ سنه باقري پتن ح "A Bakiri Seringapatam. H. year 7." Enclosed in double-lined circle and ring of dots.

There is a quarter-rupee of this mint dated 1216 in the Mysore collection.

No. 298. *Copper 20 cash*.—As No. 228, but date $\vee 121$ (1217). Weight, 174 grs.

A similar coin of this date was issued with \vee سنه (year 7) on the obverse, and $\vee 121$ سنه ضرب پتن "Struck at Puttun year 1217" on reverse.

No. 299. *Copper 10 cash*.—As No. 298, but weight 87 grs.

No. 300. *Copper 5 cash*.—As No. 298, but weight 42 grs.

No. 301. *Copper 2½ cash*.—As No. 298, but weight 21 grs.

Coins struck in A.M. 1217 = A.D. 1788, at Bednore.

No. 302. *Gold pagoda*.—As No. 269, but year of reign \vee (7) and date $\vee 121$ (1217).

No. 303. *Gold fanam*.—As No. 271, but date 1217.

No. 304. *Copper 20 cash*.—As No. 272, but date 1217. Weight, 174 grs.

No. 305. *Copper 10 cash*.—As No. 304, but weight 87 grs.

No. 306. *Copper 5 cash*.— " " " 42 grs.

A 5 cash piece of this date with elephant standing to right was also issued.

Coins struck in A.M. 1217 = A.D. 1788, at Feiz-Hisar (Gooty).

No. 307. *Copper 20 cash*.—As No. 276, but date 1217.

No. 308. *Copper 10 cash*.—

Obverse.—Elephant to right, date $\vee 121$ (1217) above, enclosed in double-lined circle and ring of dots.

Reverse.—As No. 307. Weight, 87 grs.

No. 309. *Copper 5 cash*.—As No. 308, but weight 42 grs.

Coins struck in A.M. 1217 = A.D. 1788, at Bangalore.

No. 310. *Copper 20 cash*.—As No. 262, elephant to left, date 1217, weight 174 grs.

No. 311. *Copper 10 cash*.—As No. 310, but weight 87 grs.

No. 312. *Copper 5 cash*.— " " " 42 grs.

Coins struck in A.M. 1217 = A.D. 1788, at Salamabad (Satyamangalam).

No. 313. *Copper 20 cash*.—As No. 284, but date $\vee 121$ (1217). Weight, 174 grs.

No. 314. *Copper 10 cash*.—As No. 313, but weight 87 grs.

Coins struck in A.M. 1217 = A.D. 1788, at Farakhbad-Hisar (Chittledroog?).

No. 315. *Copper 20 cash*.—As No. 274, but date ۷۱۲۱ (1217). Weight, 174 grs.

No. 316. *Copper 10 cash*.—As No. 315, but half the weight.

Coins struck in A.M. 1217 = A.D. 1788, at Khalakhbad (Chendagal).

Fig. 317. *Gold fanam*.—

Obverse.—Haidar's initial, etc.

Reverse.—۷۱۲۱ خالقا باد "Struck at Khalakhbad 1217."

No. 318. *Copper 10 cash*.—As No. 285, but elephant left and date 1217.

No. 319. *Copper 5 cash*.—As No. 318, but half the weight.

A copper 20 cash piece of this date and mint was also struck.

Coins struck in A.M. 1217 = A.D. 1788, at Farakhi (New Calicut).

No. 320. *Gold fanam*.—As No. 283, but date 1217.

No. 321. *Copper 20 cash*.—

Obverse.—Elephant to left, date ۷۱۲۱ (1217) above, enclosed in double-lined circle and ring of dots.

Reverse.—ضرب فرخي "Struck at Farakhi," ornamented field, double-lined circle and ring of dots.

A 10 cash piece was also issued.

Coins struck in A.M. 1217 = A.D. 1788, at Khurshadsuad.

Khurshadsuad is supposed by Moor to be the modern Dharwar, and he translates the word, "stricken on the sun's circumference."

No. 322. *Gold pagoda*.—As No. 253, but mint خورشادسواد (Khurshadsuad), year of reign ۷ (7), and date ۷۱۲۱ (1217).

A rupee and 20 cash piece of this date and mint were also struck.

A 20 cash piece dated 1217 was struck at بي نظير "Be-nazir" = "incomparable," Tipu's title for Hole Honnur.

Coins struck in A.M. 1218 = A.D. 1789, at the following mints:—

Seringapatam.

No. 323. *Gold mohur*.—As No. 289, but A.M. ۸۱۲۱ (1218), cyclic year شتا (Shata), and year of reign ۸ (8). Weight, 211 grs.

No. 324. *Gold half-mohur*.—As No. 323, but name of coin "Saddiki" and weight, 106 grs.

No. 325. *Gold pagoda*.—As No. 291, but year 1218.

- No. 326. *Gold fanam*.—As No. 292, but year 1218.
 No. 327. As No. 326, but in silver.
 No. 328. " " " copper. } Evidently counterfeit.
 No. 329. *Silver double-rupee*.—As No. 323, but name of coin, "Haidari."
 Weight, 350 grs.
 No. 330. *Silver rupee*.—As No. 323, but name of coin, "Imami." Weight,
 175 grs.
 No. 331. *Silver half-rupee*.—As No. 323, but name of coin, "Abidi."
 Weight, 87 grs.
 No. 332. *Silver quarter-rupee*.—As No. 297, but year 1218, and 8th year
 of this reign.

There is a silver $\frac{1}{8}$ rupee (Kazmi) of this date and mint in the Mysore Museum.

- No. 333. *Copper 40 cash*, "Asmani."—

Obverse.—Elephant standing to right with trunk upraised, date ۸۱۲۱ (1218) over the tail, a flag with a star in the centre behind the elephant, the star in a square surrounded by dashes, enclosed in a double-lined circle and ring of dots.

Reverse.—عثماني ضرب دارالسلطان پتن "An 'asmani' struck at the capital or royal residence Puttun," ornamented field, enclosed in a double-lined circle and ring of dots. Weight, 335 grs.

- No. 334. *Copper 40 cash*, "Asmani."—As No. 333, but elephant standing to left.

No. 333 appears to be the earliest dated "asmani," or 40 cash, as stated by Tufnell, who mentions the introduction of the $2\frac{1}{2}$ cash in this year; the latter statement is incorrect, *vide* my Nos. 268 (1216) and No. 301 (1217).

The name "Asmani" is derived from عثمان بن عفان ('Usman-ibn-'Affan), the 3rd Khalifa.

These 40 cash pieces are very rare, and were purchased by me in Seringapatam from a faquir in the "Darya Daulat Bagh," a summer palace of Tipu just outside the Fort, the walls of which are painted with representations of Haidar's victories over the British in 1780. Colonel Wellesley, afterwards the Duke of Wellington, made this palace his residence after the siege! As far as I remember, Haidar

in the picture was represented on the back of an elephant, very like that on the coin above described, holding a rose to his nose during the engagement. The faquir brought me about a score of these 40 cash pieces in an earthenware pot, and I was glad to get them, for it was the first and last time I had ever met with them in my coin-hunting expeditions.

No. 335. *Copper 20 cash.*—As No. 298, but date ۸۱۲۱ (1218). Weight, 174 grs.

No. 336. *Copper 10 cash.*—As No. 335, but weight 87 grs.

No. 337. *Copper 5 cash.*— " " " 42 "

No. 338. *Copper 2½ cash.*— " " " 21 "

Farakhsbad Hisar (Chittledroog).

No. 339. *Copper 40 cash.*—As No. 334, but name of mint town فرخباد حصار Farakhsbad Hisar, and surrounded by a double-lined circle with a ring of dashes between.

This mint town has also the title of دارالسلطانة, and perhaps the translation "royal residence," as given by Tufnell, is better than the usual meaning "capital."

No. 340. *Copper 20 cash.*—As No. 315, but date 1218. Weight, 174 grs.

No. 341. *Copper 10 cash.*—As No. 340, but weight 87 grs.

No. 342. *Copper 5 cash.*— " " " 42 grs.

Farakhi (New Calicut).

No. 343. *Gold fanam.*—As No. 320, but date 1218.

No. 344. *Copper 40 cash.*—As No. 333, but name of mint فرخي Farakhi; also preceded by the title دارالسلطانة

No. 345. *Copper 20 cash.*—As No. 321, but date 1218.

No. 346. " As No. 345, but variant reverse.

Salamabad (Satyamangalam).

No. 347. *Copper 20 cash.*—As No. 313, but date 1218.

No. 348. *Copper 2½ cash.*—As No. 347, but weight 21 grs.

Bednore.

No. 349. *Copper 20 cash.*—As No. 272, but date 1218.

A copper 40 cash piece of this date and mint was also struck.

Bangalore.

- No. 350. *Copper 10 cash.*—As No. 311, but date 1218.
 No. 351. *Copper 5 cash.*—As No. 350, but half-weight, viz., 42 grs.
 No. 352. *Copper 2½ cash.*—As No. 350, but weight, 21 grs.
 A 20 cash piece, with elephant standing to right, was also struck.

Khurshadsuad (Dharwar).

- No. 353. *Gold pagoda.*—As No. 322, but year of reign 8, and date 1218.
 No. 354. *Silver rupee.*—As No. 330, but name of mint خورشادسواد.
 A 20 cash piece was also struck, with elephant standing to left.

Zafarabad.

- No. 355. *Copper 5 cash.*—As No. 280, but date, 1218, and weight, 21 grs.
 A 20 cash piece was also issued.

Feiz-Hisar (Gooty).

- No. 356. *Copper 10 cash.*—As No. 308, but elephant left and date, 1218.
 A 20 cash piece (with elephant right) was also struck.
 A 20 cash piece dated 1218, was struck in Calicut.

Coins struck in A.M. 1219 = A.D. 1790, at the following mints:—

Seringapatam.

- No. 357. *Gold pagoda.*—As No. 325, but year of reign 9 (9) and date ۹۱۲۱ (1219).
 No. 358. *Gold fanam.*—As No. 326, but year, 1219.
 A gold mohur was also struck.
 No. 359. *Silver rupee.*—As No. 330, but year 1219, and cyclic year زبرجد (Zabarjad) and 9th year of the reign.

The double and half-rupees were also struck.

- No. 360. *Copper 40 cash.*—As No. 334, but date 1219.
 No. 361. *Copper 20 cash.*—As No. 335, but date 1219.
 No. 362. *Copper 10 cash.*—As No. 361. Weight, 87 grs.
 No. 363. " As No. 362, but with plain field.
 No. 364. *Copper 5 cash.*—As No. 361. Weight, 42 grs.

Dr. Hultzsch possesses a 5 cash piece with obverse similar to No. 364, but with the reverse inscribed بهرام غرب پتن "A Bahram struck at Puttun," Bahram being the Persian designation of the planet Mars. The earliest "Bahram" in my collection is dated A.M. 1221.

Bangalore.

- No. 365. *Copper 20 cash.*—*Obverse.*—Elephant to left and date १११ (1219)
etc. Weight, 174 grs.
No. 366. *Copper 10 cash.*—As No. 365. Weight, 87 grs.
No. 367. *Copper 5 cash* " " 42 grs.
No. 368. *Copper 2½ cash* " " 21 grs.

Farakhbad Hisar (Chittledroog).

- No. 369. *Copper 20 cash.*—As No. 340, but date 1219.
A 40 cash piece was also struck.

Bednore.

- No. 370. *Copper 20 cash.*—As No. 349, but date 1219.

Coins struck in A.M. 1220 = A.D. 1791, at the following mints:—

Seringapatam.

- No. 371. *Gold pagoda.*—As No. 357, but year of reign १ (10) and date
♦११ (1220).
No. 372. *Gold fanam.*—As No. 358, but year 1220.
The British Museum possesses the double-rupee,
rupee, half-rupee, and ½-rupee of this date, all of
which are extremely rare.
No. 373. *Copper 10 cash.*—As No. 362, but date 1220.
No. 374. " As No. 373, but plain field on reverse.
A 20 cash piece, and 10 cash piece, with date written ११♦,
were also issued.

Bednore.

- No. 375. *Gold fanam.*—As No. 303, but date, ♦११ (1220).
No. 376. *Copper 20 cash.*—As No. 370 " "

Coins struck in A.M. 1221 = A.D. 1792, at the following mints:—

Seringapatam.

- No. 377. *Gold pagoda.*—As No. 371, but year of reign, ११ (11) and date
१११ (1221).
No. 378. *Gold fanam.*—As No. 372, but date ११ (12), concerning which
Tufnell remarks as follows:—"In this curious little
unique fanam, either from a mistake on the die or

other cause, nothing but the number 12 has been stamped, and this may signify the year of the reign, the word جلوس being omitted, or the last two numerals of the Muludi year, ۱۲۲۱ (1221), the first two being omitted."

Fig. 379. *Silver Jafri*, or $\frac{1}{4}$ -rupee.—

Obverse.—۱۱ جعفری سنہ جلوس "Jafri, year of reign 11."

Reverse.—۱۲۲۱ محمد سنہ ضرب پٹن ح "Muhammad, struck at Puttun, H. 1221." Weight, 19 grs.

The bakhri, or $\frac{1}{4}$ -rupee, kazmi, $\frac{1}{16}$ -rupee, and kizri, $\frac{1}{32}$ -rupee, of this date were also struck, and are very rare.

Fig. 380. *Copper 40 cash*.—As No. 334, but date ۱۲۲۱ (1221).

No. 381. *Copper 20 cash*.—As No. 361, " "

No. 382. " " As No. 381, but elephant standing to right.

A 20 cash piece was also struck, bearing on the obverse the inscription ۱۲۲۱ محمد مولودی "Muhammad Muludi, 1221," above the elephant, and the inscription ضرب پٹن زهره "A Zahra struck at Puttun."

This coin is interesting owing to the fact that it gave the key to Tipu's new system of dating his coins from the birth of Muhammad. Tipu called this coin "Zahra" = the equivalent in Persian of the planet Venus.

No. 383. *Copper 10 cash*.—As No. 381, but weight 87 grs.

No. 384. " " As No. 383, but plain field on the reverse.

No. 385. " " As No. 384, but elephant standing right.

No. 386. " " *Obverse*.—As No. 385.

Reverse.—بهرام ضرب پٹن "Bahram struck at Puttun."

No. 387. *Copper 5 cash*.—As No. 384, but weight 42 grs.

No. 388. " " As No. 387, but date ۱۲ only, cf. No. 378.

No. 389. *Copper 2½ cash*.—As No. 387, but weight 21 grs.

Bednore.

No. 390. *Gold fanam*.—As No. 378, but mint town نگر

No. 391. *Copper 20 cash*.—As No. 376, but date ۱۲۲۱ (1221).

20 cash with the inscription ۱۲۲۱ مولودی "Muludi 1221" above the elephant was also issued.

No. 392. *Copper 10 cash*.—As No. 391, weight, 84 grs.

Feiz-Hisar (Gooty).

No. 393. *Copper 20 cash.*—Elephant to left and date 1221, etc.

Coins struck in A.M. 1222=A.D. 1793, at the following mints:—

Seringapatam.

No. 394. *Gold fanam.*—As No. 378, but date ۲۲۱ (1222).

Fig. 395. *Silver Kazmi or $\frac{1}{10}$ -rupee.*—

Obverse.—کازمی سنہ ۱۱ جلوس "Kazmi year of reign 12."

Reverse.—سنہ ۲۲۱ محمد غرب پتن

Silver $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, and $\frac{1}{8}$ -rupee were also issued, specimens of the two last being in the British Museum.

No. 396. *Copper 40 cash.*—"Mushtari."

Obverse.—Elephant to right with trunk upraised: behind the elephant a flag bearing a star with 4 dashes at the corners: below the flag مولودی Date ۲۲۱ (1222) above the elephant's tail. Enclosed in a double-lined circle and ring of dots.

Reverse.—مشتري غرب دارالسلطانت پتن "Mushtari struck at the capital Puttun." Enclosed in a double-lined circle and ring of dots.

It will be observed in the above inscription that the name of the 40 cash piece was changed from "Usmani" to "Mushtari," the latter being the Arabic designation for the planet Jupiter. The change of name was necessitated owing to Tipu having given the names of the different stars to his smaller copper coins in A.M. 1221, the 20 cash being called زهره or زهرا "Zahra"=Venus, the 10 cash بهرام "Bahram"=Mars, and 5 cash اختر "Akhtar"=star. The $2\frac{1}{2}$ cash was called قطب "Kutb"=Polestar.

No. 397. *Copper 40 cash.*—As No. 396 but مولو on right of flag and مولودی on the left.

No. 398. *Copper 20 cash.*—

Obverse.—Elephant to right and date 1222 above.

Reverse.—"Struck at Puttun," plain field.

Fig. 399. *Copper 20 cash.*—

Obverse.—As No. 398 but مولودی "Muludi" added to the date.

Reverse.—زهره غرب پتن "Zahrah struck at Puttun."

20 cash pieces of this date with elephant to the left bearing date ۲۲۲۱ مولودی and ۱۲۲۱ محمد مولودی were also struck.

- No. 400. *Copper 10 cash.*—As No. 398, but half weight.
 No. 401. " " As No. 400, but بهرام "Bahram" added on reverse.
 No. 402. " " As No. 401, but elephant standing to the left.
 No. 403. *Copper 5 cash.*—As No. 400, but half weight.
 No. 404. " " As No. 403, but اختر "Akhtar" added on reverse.
 Fig. 405. *Copper 2½ cash.*—
Obverse.—Elephant to left, date ۲۲۲۱ (1222): enclosed in double-lined circle and ring of dots.
Reverse.—قطب ضرب "Kutb struck—" enclosed in double-lined circle and ring of dots. Weight, 21 grs.

Bednore.

- No. 406. *Copper 20 cash.*—As No. 391, but date ۲۲۲۱ (1222) and زهرا "Zahrah" added to reverse.
 No. 407. *Copper 10 cash.*—As No. 406, weight, 85 grs. and بهرام "Bahram" added to reverse.
 A Mushtari was also issued.
 Zahrah is written زهرا on the Bednore coins, instead of زهره on the Seringapatam coins.

Feiz-Hisar (Gooty).

- No. 408. *Copper 20 cash.*—
Obverse.—Elephant to left and date 1222.
Reverse.—ضرب فیض حصار "struck at Feiz-Hisar." Plain field.
 No. 409. *Copper 10 cash.*—As No. 408. Weight, 86 grs.
 No. 410. *Copper 10 cash.*—
Obverse.—As 409, but ۲۲۲۱ = ۲۲۲۱ سنه = year 1222.
Reverse.—بهرام ضرب فیض حصار "Bahram struck at Feiz-Hisar."
 No. 411. *Copper 5 cash.*—
Obverse.—Elephant to right. Date ۲۰۲۰ above.
Reverse.—اختر ضرب فیض حصار "Akhtar struck at Feiz-Hisar."

No. 412. *Copper 5 cash.*—As No. 411, but date written ١٢٢٢ —the letter ب (B) below 1222.

No. 413. *Copper 5 cash.*—

Obverse.—Elephant to right and letter ب (B).

Reverse.—٢٢٢١ اختر غرب فيض حصار "Aktar struck at Feiz-Hisar 1222."

No. 414. *Copper 5 cash.*—

Obverse.—As No. 413—also of same weight, viz., 41 grs.

Reverse.—٢٢٢١ بگرام غرب فيض حصار "Bahram struck at Feiz-Hisar 1222."

This Aktar is described as a Bahram, which is evidently an error, although several authorities on the Mysore coins describe the 5 cash as "Bahrams," and the $2\frac{1}{2}$ cash "Aktars," and the "Kutbs," as $1\frac{1}{4}$ cash, which seems to me to be a mistake. The Zahrah is also described as 10 cash. But by comparing the weights of many Zahrahs, Bahrams, Aktars, and Kutbs, I find that the average weights are 174, 87, 42, and 21 grs. respectively, corresponding to the weights of the 20, 10, 5, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ cash formerly used by Tipu, and have classified them accordingly. Nos. 413 and 414 are examples of the same coin bearing the designation of both "aktar" and "Bahram." The new designation being apparently not understood by the mint people themselves, who possibly, were unable to keep up with Tipu's inclination for repeated change in the currency.

5 cash pieces bearing the inscriptions غرب فيض حصار and اختر غرب فيض حصار on the reverse and the date 1222 on the obverse were also issued.

Coins struck in A.M. 1223 = A.D. 1794, at the following mints:—

Seringapatam.

No. 415. *Gold fanam.*—As No. 394, but date ١٢٢٣ (1223).

A silver rupee was also issued bearing the date 1223, and cyclic year شاد "Shad," and year of reign, ١٣ (13).

No. 416. *Copper 40 cash.*—As No. 396, but date 1223.

No. 417. *Copper 20 cash.*—

Obverse.—Elephant to right and مولودی ۳۲۲۱, "Muludi 1223."

Reverse.—زهره ضرب پتن on an ornamented field.

No. 418. *Copper 20 cash.*—As No. 417, but مولودی written مولودے.

No. 419. " " As No. 417, but position of date varied.

No. 420. " " " " " " " "

A 20 cash piece with ضرب پتن only on the reverse was issued.

No. 421. *Copper 10 cash.*—

Obverse.—Elephant right, with date 1223 above.

Reverse.—ضرب پتن on plain field.

No. 422. *Copper 10 cash.*—As No. 421, but پیرام added on reverse.

No. 423. " " As No. 422, but elephant standing to left.

No. 424. " 5 " As No. 421, but half weight.

No. 425. " " As No. 424, but اختر added on reverse.

No. 426. " " As No. 425, but elephant standing to left.

No. 423 was also issued as a 5 cash piece.

Feiz-Hisar (Gooty).

No. 427. *Copper 5 cash.*—

Obverse.—Elephant to right: date ۳۶۶۱ (intended for ۳۲۲۱—1223) above.

Reverse.—ضرب فیض حصار, "struck at Feiz-Hisar."

No. 428. *Copper 5 cash.*—As No. 427, but the elephant's tail upraised.

A similar 5 cash piece with the correct date ۳۲۲۱ was also struck.

Bednore.

No. 429. *Copper 20 cash.*—

Obverse.—Elephant to right, and date ۳۲۲۱ (1223).

Reverse.—زهره ضرب نگر on ornamented field.

The 20 cash was also issued (1) with elephant to left and (2) elephant to right, and مولودی added to the date.

Coins struck in A.M. 1224 (A.D. 1795) at the following mints:—

Seringapatam.

No. 430. *Silver Bakhri or ¼-Rupree.*—As No. 297, but date ۱۲۲۱ (1224) and year of reign ۶۱ (16).

There is a $\frac{1}{16}$ -rupee of this date in the British Museum.

No. 431. *Copper 40 cash.*—

Obverse.—Elephant standing to right : behind him a flag bearing the letter ۱ (a) in the centre towards which are four converging lines.

Reverse.—مشتري ضرب دارالسلطانت پتن سنه مولودي ۱۲۲۱
“Mushtari struck at the capital Puttun in the Muludi year 1224,” on plain field.

No. 432. *Copper 40 cash.*—As No. 431, but on ornamented field.

It will be observed that in this year, A.M. 1224 = A.D. 1795, Tipu commenced another system by which he distinguished each year by giving it a letter, 1224 being designated ۱ (a), 1225 ب (b), 1226 ت (t), and 1227 ث, in which year he was killed. The following extract is interesting :—

“The object of these numerals is not apparent, but it is suggested by Marsden that they may have reference to the system of depreciation which the coinage in some parts of India is liable to after the lapse of the current year. The fact is mentioned by Buchanan that the value of his different coins was frequently changed by Tipu in a very arbitrary manner. When he was about to pay his troops the nominal value of each coin was raised very high, and kept at that standard for about ten days, during which time the soldiers were allowed to pay off their debts at the high valuation. After this the standard was reduced to its proper value.”

The latter statement may possibly account for the “aktar” being converted into a “bahram,” *vide* Nos. 413 and 414.

No. 433. *Copper 20 cash.*—

Obverse.—Elephant standing to right : letter ۱ (a) above : enclosed in double-lined circle and ring of dots.

Reverse.—زهره ضرب پتن مولودي ۱۲۲۱, “Zahrah struck at Puttun in the Muludi year 1224” on ornamented field.

No. 434. *Copper 20 cash.*—As No. 433, but varied in the position of the date.

No. 435. ” ” ” ” ” ” ” ”

A Zahrah was also struck at Gooty with obverse with elephant to the right and letter ۱ (a) above, and reverse
مفيض حصار زهره ضرب مولودي ۱۲۲۱
Mr. Ingle's collection.

- No. 436. *Copper 10 cash.*—
Obverse.—As No. 433.
Reverse.—بهرام ضرب پتن ۱۲۲۱.
- No. 437. *Copper 10 cash.*—As No. 436, but varied in the position of the date.
- No. 438. *Copper 5 cash.*—
Obverse.—As No. 433.
Reverse.—اختر ضرب پتن ۱۲۲۱.
- Fig. 439. As No. 438, but varied in the position of the date.
- No. 440. *Copper 2½ cash.*—
Obverse.—As No. 433.
Reverse.—قطب ضرب پتن ۱۲۲۱.

Bednore.

- No. 441. *Copper 20 cash.*—
Obverse.—Elephant to left; letter ا (a) and dated ۱۲۲۱ (1224) above.
Reverse.—زهره ضرب نگر. "Zahrah struck at Nagar" (Bednore) on ornamented field.
- No. 442. *Copper 20 cash.*—As No. 441, but ضرب نگر on reverse.

A 40 cash and 20 cash with ۱۲۲۱ مولودي and elephant standing to right were also struck.

- No. 443. *Copper 5 cash.*—
Obverse.—As No. 441.
Reverse.—As No. 441, but اختر instead of زهره.
- No. 444. *Copper 5 cash.*—
Obverse.—Elephant to right and letter ب (b).
Reverse.—اختر ضرب فيض حصار ۱۲۲۱.
- No. 445. *Copper 5 cash.*—
Obverse.—As No. 444.
Reverse.—بهرام ضرب فيض حصار ۱۲۲۱.
- No. 446. *Copper 5 cash.*—
Obverse.—As No. 444.
Reverse.—زهره ضرب فيض حصار ۱۲۲۱.

Nos. 445 and 446, which are of the same weight as No. 444, are described as a Bahram and Zahrah respectively—either a mistake or an arbitrary higher value given to them. The

date 1224 is a mistake for 1226. A 5 cash with elephant to right, letter 1 (a), date 1224 and with reverse as on No. 443 was also struck.

A 5 cash was also struck in this year at Khalakhabad.

Coins struck in A.M. 1225 = A.D. 1796, at the following mints :—

Seringapatam.

No. 447. *Copper* 40 *cash*.—As No. 431, but letter ب (b) and date ۵۲۲۱ (1225).

No. 448. *Copper 40 cash*.—Variant of No. 447, date being written $\frac{5221}{\text{سنه 5221}}$

No. 449. " " " " " " " " "

No. 450. " 20 " As No. 433, but letter \cup and date 1225.

No. 451. " " " " 450, " variant in position of date.

No. 452. " 10 " " " " بَرَام instead of Zahrah on
reverse.

No. 453. " " " " 452. " variant in position of date.

No. 454. " 5 " " 450, " اختر instead of Zahrah on reverse.

No. 455. " " " " 454, " variant in position of date.

No. 456. " " " " " " " " " " "

No. 457. " 2½ " " 440, " letter ۷ and date ۵۲۲۱ (1225).

Bednore.

Fig. 458. *Copper 20 cash.*—

Obverse.—Elephant to right and letter \cup (b) above it.

Reverse.—جہرا ضرب نگر سندھ ۵۲۲۱ مولودی; on ornamented field.

Feiz-Hisar (Gooty).

No. 459. *Copper* 5 cash.—

Obverse.—Elephant to right and letter \cup (b) above.

Reverse.— ضرب فیض حصار

Khalakhalad (Chendagal).

No. 460. *Copper* 5 cash.—

Obverse.—Elephant to right and date ५२२ (1225) above.

Reverse.—خبر خالق آباد

Coins struck in A.M. 1227 = A.D. 1798-1799, at the following mints:—

Bednore.

Fig. 479. *Copper 20 cash.*—

Obverse.—Elephant standing to right; letter ث (s) above; enclosed in double-lined circle and ring of dots.

Reverse.—هرا ضرب نگر سنه ۱۲۲۱ مولودي “Zahrah struck at Nagar in the Muludi year 1227.” On plain field; enclosed in double-lined circle and ring of dots.

Concerning No. 479 Marsden says: “A peisah or Zahra of 1227, from the mint of Nagar or Bednore, has in like manner a ث the fourth and last letter of the word اَبْت given by the Sultan as a name to his numerical system, on which he appears to have wasted no small share of ingenuity.

“This is probably the last specimen of his coinage that has been preserved, and must have been struck within a month of his death; the year 1227 of his era having begun on the 6th April, 1799, and the storming of Seringapatam, on which occasion he fell, having happened on the 4th May of that year, being the anniversary of his accession.”

Miscellaneous coins of Tipu.

No. 480. *Gold fanam.*—

Obverse.—Haidar's initial.

Reverse.—ضرب پتن ۱۱۱۱

No. 481. *Copper 5 cash.*—

Obverse.—Elephant to right; moon above.

Reverse.—? ضرب بهرام

No. 482. *Copper 5 cash.*—

Obverse.—Elephant to left.

Reverse.—Inscription illegible.

No. 483. *Copper 10 cash.*—

Obverse.—Elephant to left.

Reverse.—ضرب گارند سنه ۱۲۰۲ “Struck at (?) 1202.”

Fig. 484. *Copper 10 cash.*—As No. 483, but elephant to right.

Although I possess several specimens of Nos. 483 and 484 I have not been able to read the name of the mint town. It may possibly be intended for نظير بي “Be-Nazir” = Hole Honnur, or ظربار “Nazarbar.”

LIST OF THE MINT TOWNS OF TIPU.

Gold coins—7 mints.

Seringapatam.—Mohurs, $\frac{1}{2}$ -mohurs, pagodas, and fanams.

Nagar = Bednore.—Pagodas and fanams.

Calicut.—Fanams.

Khalakhabad = Chendghaul.—Fanams.

Farakhi = New Calicut.—Fanams.

Dharwar.—Pagodas.

Khurshadsuad = Dharwar.—Pagodas.

Silver coins—3 mints.

Seringapatam.—Double rupees, rupees, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{16}$, $\frac{1}{32}$ rupees.

Dharwar.—Rupees.

Khurshadsuad.—Rupees.

Copper coins—12 mints.

Seringapatam.

Khalakhabad.

Nagar (Bednore).

Farakhi (New Calicut).

Feiz-Hissar (Gooty).

Calicut.

Bangalore.

Farakhabad-Hisar (Chittledroog?).

Zafarabad (Gurramcondah).

Nazarabar (not identified).

Salamabad (Satymangalam).

Be-Nazir (Hole Honnur).

Hyder Ali struck copper coins at Bellary and Seringapatam.

III.—THE COINS OF KRISHNA RAJA UDAIYAR OF MYSORE.

A.D. 1799–1868.

On the restitution of the Hindu line, after the fall of Seringapatam, the following gold coins were struck :—

No. 486. *Pagoda*.—

Obverse.— स्वर्ण हरिता ल = "Sri Krishna Raja" in Nagari on a plain field.

Reverse.—Siva with his wife Parvati, seated side by side, the former holding the trisul; on a plain field. Weight, 52 grs.

No. 487. *Half pagoda*.—As No. 486, but weight 25 grs.

Fanam.—Similar to No. 486, but weight 5 grs.

Fig. 488. *Fanam*.—As No. 1 being "a re-coinage by the Dewan Purniah of the fanam struck by Kantirava Navasa Raja, and called the 'Gidd' or thick canteroy fanam to distinguish it from its predecessor, with which it corresponds except in this respect."¹

It will be observed that the coins Nos. 486 and 487 were somewhat similar to Haidar's gold coins, Nos. 162–5, the name Sri Krishna Raja taking the place of Haidar's initial.

The following silver coins were also struck in Mysore, after the pattern of the East India Company, in the name of Shah 'Alam, the Mogul Emperor. The year of the reign on the reverse does not coincide with the Hejirah date on the obverse, but I have given a list of all the varieties in my collection in the hope of someone being able to reconcile the dates.

Rupees.

Fig. 489. *Obverse*.—سکه زد بر هفت کشور سایه فضل اله حامی دین محمد شاد
(Marsden) عالم بادشاه سنه ۱۲۴۱

"Defender of the Muhammadan faith, reflection of divine excellence, the Emperor Shah Alam struck this coin to be current throughout the seven climates in the year 1243."

¹ Tufnell.

Reverse.— ضرب عتبه مسور سنه ۳۵ جلوس عیمنت مانوس
 "Struck at Mysore in the thirty-fifth year of his
 auspicious reign."

		<i>On obverse.</i>	<i>On reverse.</i>
No. 490.	As No. 489, but date	۱۲۳۷ (1238) and year of reign	۳۷ (37).
No. 491.	" "	۰۲۳۸ (1238)	" " "
No. 492.	" "	۱۲۱۴ (1214)	" " ۳۹ (39).
No. 493.	" "	(Nil)	" " ۴۴ (44).
No. 494.	" "	۲۱	" " ۴۴ (44).
No. 495.	" "	۲۱	" " ۴۵ (45).
No. 496.	" "	(Nil)	" " ۴۶ (46).
No. 497.	" "	(Nil)	" " ۴۸ (48).
No. 498.	" "	۲۸	" " ۴۷
No. 499.	" "	۱۲۴۸ (1248)	" " ۴۸ (48).
No. 500.	" "	۲۲۲	" " ۶۱
No. 501.	" "	۲۹	" " ۷۴
No. 502.	" "	۱۲۲۴ (1224)	" " ۷۴
No. 503.	" "	۲۵	" " ۷۴
No. 504.	" "	>	" " ۷۴ (74).
No. 505.	" "	(Nil)	" " ۹۴ (94).
No. 506.	" "	۱۲۲۷ (1227)	" " ۹۵ (95).
No. 507.	" "	۱۲۲۷ (1227)	" " ۹۶ (96).
No. 508.	" "	۲۹	" " ۹۶ (96).
No. 509.	" "	۱۲۳۱ (1231)	" " ۹۸ (98).
No. 510.	" "	۱۲۳۵ (1235)	" " ۹۸ (98).
No. 511.	" "	۱۲۳۴ (1234)	" " ۹۸ (98).
No. 512.	" "	۴۳	" " ۹۸ (98).

Half-rupees. Weight, 88 grs.

- Fig. 513. As No. 489, but no date on obverse and year of reign ۳۹ (39)
 on reverse.
- No. 514. As No. 489, but no date on obverse and year of reign ۷۴ (74)
 on reverse.
- No. 515. As No. 489, but no date on obverse and year of reign ۷۶ (76)
 on reverse.



No. 516. As No. 489, but no date on obverse and year of reign Λ° (84) on reverse.

Quarter-rupees. Weight, 44 grs.

	<i>Obverse.</i>	<i>Reverse.</i>
Fig. 517.	As No. 489, but date $\bullet\bullet 1^{\circ}$ and year of reign \tilde{r}° (44).	
No. 518.	" no date " "	\tilde{r}° (45).
No. 519.	" date $1^{\circ} 2^{\circ} 1^{\circ}$ (1221) " "	\tilde{r}° (45).
No. 520.	" no date " "	\tilde{r}° (46).
No. 521.	" " " "	$\vee 1^{\circ}$ (76).
No. 522.	" " " "	Λ° (84).

The following silver coins were also issued by Krishna Raja Udaiyar :—

No. 523. *Obverse.*—A dancing figure of Chamundi in a circle of dots. Chamundā in the Hindu mythology was an emanation of the goddess Durga (the wife of Siva and known also as Parvati, Kali, etc.), said to have been so named by Durga on account of the destruction of the two demons Chanda and Munda. A hill in Mysore is called Chalmundi Hill.

Reverse.— $1^{\circ} 2^{\circ} 1^{\circ}$ سنہ ۱۲۱۲ ویدیر جلوس غرب $\bullet\bullet 1^{\circ}$
 " Krishna Raja Udaiyar. Year of reign? struck at Mysore in the year 1212 "; enclosed in a circle of dots. Udaiyar = "Lord."

No. 524. As No. 523, but date $1^{\circ} 2^{\circ} 1^{\circ}$ (1214).

No. 525. " " $1^{\circ} 2^{\circ} 1^{\circ}$ (1221).

Fig. 526. " " $1^{\circ} 2^{\circ} 6^{\circ}$ (1226).

No. 527. " " $1^{\circ} 2^{\circ} 8^{\circ}$ (1228).

No. 528. " " $1^{\circ} 2^{\circ} 9^{\circ}$ (1229).

No. 529. " " $1^{\circ} 2^{\circ} 1^{\circ}$ (1243) } N.B.—The dates read from
 No. 530. " " $1^{\circ} 2^{\circ} 1^{\circ}$ (1244) } right to left instead of
 from left to right.

No. 531. " " $1^{\circ} 2^{\circ} 5^{\circ}$ (1245).

No. 532. " " $1^{\circ} 2^{\circ} 6^{\circ}$ (1246).

No. 533. " " $1^{\circ} 2^{\circ} 7^{\circ}$ (1247).

No. 534. " " variant.

No. 535. " " $1^{\circ} 2^{\circ} 8^{\circ}$ (1248).

One-eighth of a rupee. Weight, 27 grs.

Fig. 536. *Obverse*.—As No. 523.

Reverse.—ಮಯಿಲಿ ಕಾಸು = Kanarese "Mayili hana." The word Mayili is thought by Rice to be connected with an old Kaunada word meaning "token."

One-sixteenth of a rupee. Weight, $13\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

Fig. 537. As No. 536.

Copper coins of Krishna Raja Udaiyar.

Fig. 538. 40 cash.—

Obverse.—Elephant caparisoned standing to left.

ಶ್ರೀ (Sri) between the sun and moon above.

Reverse.—ಮಯಿಲಿ ಕಾಸು = "Mayili Kasu" (Kanarese). XL CASH in English. Weight, 273 grs.

No. 539. 20 cash.—

Obverse.—As No. 538, but surrounded by a circle of dots.

Reverse.—ಮಯಿಲಿ ಕಾಸು ಯಪ ಕು-೨ = "Mayili Kasu ippatu." XX CASH in English. Weight, 140 grs.

No. 540. 20 cash.—As No. 539, but in lead.

Fig. 541. 20 cash.—As No. 539, but elephant's trunk slightly elevated.

No. 542. 20 cash.—As No. 539, but better finished and of a more modern appearance.

Fig. 543. 10 cash.—

Obverse.—As No. 538.

Reverse.—ಮಯಿಲಿ ಕಾಸು ೧೦ = "Mayili Kasu 10" (Kanarese). X CASH in English. Weight, 70 grs.

Fig. 544. 5 cash.—

Obverse.—As No. 538.

Reverse.—ಮಯಿಲಿ ಕಾಸು ೫ = "Mayili Kasu 5" (Kanarese). V CASH in English.

No. 545. 5 cash.—As No. 544, but lettering much larger.



No. 546. 20 cash.—

Obverse.—Elephant to left; ಶ್ರೀ "Sri" between sun and moon above; surrounded by dotted and lined circles.

Reverse.—ಚಾಮಯಿಲಿಕಾಸು ಯಪ ಕು-೨ = "Cha Mayili Kasu ippatu." XX CASH in English. Surrounded by a lined circle and ring of dots.

Fig. 547. 20 cash.—As No. 546, but Cha written ಚ

No. 548. 20 cash.— " " ಚ::

No. 549. 20 cash.—As No. 456, but Sri and sun and moon written 
Dr. Hultzsck possesses a specimen with the long mark added to Sri, thus :—

No. 550. 10 cash.—

Obverse.—As No. 546, but with long mark added to Sri.

Reverse.—"Cha Mayili Kasu 10" in Kanarese. X CASH in English. Surrounded by double-lined circle and ring of dots.

No. 551. 10 cash.—As No. 550, but no long mark to Sri.

No. 552. 5 cash.—

Obverse.—As No. 550.

Reverse.—"Cha Mayili Kasu 5." V CASH in English.

No. 553. 5 cash.—As No. 552, but without the long mark to Sri.

Fig. 554. 20 cash.—

Obverse.—Elephant to left with trunk upraised : ಶ್ರೀ (Sri) between sun and moon above : ಚಾಮುಂಡಿ = "chamundi" = Kanarese, in double-lined circle and ring of dots.

Reverse.—ಕರ ಮಯಿಲಿ ಕಾಸು ಐಪತ್ತು = "Krishna Mayili Kasu ippattu," Kanarese. XX CASH in English. Enclosed in double-lined circle and ring of dots.

No. 555. 20 cash.—As No. 554, but no ಶ್ರೀ (Sri) between the sun and moon.

No. 556. 20 cash.—As No. 554, but ಶ್ರೀಶೈ written ಶ್ರೀಶೈ

No. 557. 20 cash.—As No. 554, but with dotted flowers on the obverse.

Fig. 558. 10 cash.—As No. 554, but "Krishna Mayili Kasu hattu," Kanarese, and CASH X in English on the reverse.

No. 559. 5 cash.—As No. 554, but "Krishna Mayili Kasu Aidu," Kanarese, and V CASH in English on the reverse.

Fig. 560.—25 cash.—

Obverse.—A lion to the left with right paw raised ; sun and moon and ಶ್ರೀ ಚಾಮುಂಡಿ = "Sri Chamundi," Kanarese, above lion. Enclosed in double-lined circle and ring of dots.

Reverse.—ಕೃಷ್ಣ = "Krishna" within a circle in the centre ಮಯಿಲಿ ಕಾಸು ೨೫ "Mayili Kasu 25," Kanarese, XXV CASH ضرب ميسوري "Struck at Mysore" in the margin ; the whole enclosed in double-lined circle and ring of dots. Weight, 173 grs.

No. 561. 25 cash.—As No. 560, but XXV CASH written XXV CSH.

No. 562. " " but variant in the Kanarese of Krishna.

- No. 563. 25 *cash*.—As No. 560, but XXV CASH written HSAC VXX.
- No. 563A. " " another variant in the inscription of XXV CASH.
- No. 564. 12½ *cash*.—
Obverse.—As No. 560, but "Sri" with sun and moon in place of "Sri Chamundi."
Reverse.—"Krishna" in Kanarese and "Struck at Mysore" in Persian, and Kanarese numerals ೧೨ (12½); enclosed in double-lined circle and ring of dots.
 Weight, 87½ grs.
- No. 565. 12½ *cash*.—Variant of No. 564.
- No. 566. 6¼ *cash*.—
Obverse.—As No. 564.
Reverse.—"Krishna" in Kanarese and "struck at Mysore" in Persian. Weight, 44 grs.
- Fig. 567. 6¼ *cash*.—Variant of No. 566.
- No. 568. 6¼ *cash*.—
Obverse.—As No. 560.
Reverse.—As No. 560, but "Mayili Kasu" in Kanarese and VI¼ in English.
- Fig. 569. 5 *cash*.—
Obverse.—Elephant standing to left with sun and moon above; enclosed in double-lined circle and ring of dots.
Reverse.—श्री कृ रा जा = "Sri Krishna Raja" in Nagri.
 Enclosed in double-lined circle and ring of dots.
 Weight, 41½ grs.

A 5 cash piece with "Sri" in Kanarese on the obverse, and with "Mayili Kasu 5" in Kanarese, v CASH and in English on the reverse was also struck, but is very uncommon.

There are three large 25 cash pieces in the Madras Museum, two of which have on the obverse an elephant to the left with "Sri Chamundi" in Kanarese with sun and moon, and the usual inscription on the reverse, the XXV CASH being written XXV UAUH. These pieces were not in general circulation.

The following coins are said to have been struck in Bangalore though the name Mysore was still retained on them, the mint having been transferred to the former place in A.D. 1833.

Fig. 570. 20 cash.—

Obverse.—Lion to the left with right paw upraised.

ಶ್ರೀ ಚಾಮುಂಡಿ "Sri chamundi," Kanarese, and sun and moon above date 1833 below the lion; the whole enclosed in lined circle and ring of dots.

Reverse.—ಕೃಷ್ಣ "Krishna" and ضرب میهنی سور "Struck at Mysore," on the field.

ಮಯಿಲಿ ಕಾಸು ೨೦ "Mayili Kasu 20," MILAY 20 CASH, in margin, enclosed in lined circle.

No. 571. 20 cash.—As No. 570, but with a branch on each side of the date and above the lion.

No. 572. 10 cash.—

Obverse.—As No. 570 but "Sri" instead of "Sri chamundi."

Reverse.—"Krishna" in Kanarese, "Struck at Mysore" in Persian, and 10 in English.

No. 573. 5 cash.—As No. 572 but the numeral 5 in English on the reverse.

No. 574. 2½ " " " " 2½ " "

No. 575. 20 " " 570 but date 1834.

No. 576. 20 " " 575 but MEILEE for MILAY.

No. 577. 20 " " 575 but of a much better finish with a scroll between the date and the lion.

No. 578. 10 " " 572 but date 1834.

No. 579. 5 " " 573 " "

No. 580. 2½ " " 574 " "

No. 581. 20 " " 570 " 1835.

No. 582. 10 " " 572 " "

No. 583. 5 " " 573 " "

No. 584. 20 " " 570 " 1836.

No. 585. 10 " " 572 " "

No. 586. 5 " " 573 " "

No. 587. 20 " " 570 " 1837.

No. 588. 10 " " 572 " "

No. 589. 5 " " 573 " "

No. 590. 20 " " 570 " 1838.

No. 591. 10 " " 572 " "

No. 592. 5 " " 573 " "

No. 593. 20 " " 570 " 1839.

No. 594. 10 " " 572 " "

No. 595. 5 " " 573 " "

Fig. 596. 2½ " " 574 " "

No. 597. 20 " " 570 " 1840.

Fig. 598. 10 " " 572 " "

Fig. 599.	5	cash.	—As No. 573	but date 1841.
No. 600.	2½	„	„ 574	„ „
No. 601.	20	„	„ 570	„ „
No. 602.	10	„	„ 572	„ „
No. 603.	5	„	„ 573	„ „
No. 604.	10	„	„ 572	„ 1842.
No. 605.	5	„	„ 573	„ „
No. 606.	2½	„	„ 574	„ „
No. 607.	20	„	„ 570	„ 1843.
No. 608.	10	„	„ 572	„ „
No. 609.	5	„	„ 573	„ „
No. 610.	2½	„	„ 574	„ „

No coins were struck by the Mysore Government after 1843.

Possibly a few remarks on the rarity of some of the coins would be useful. The half gold mohur was the most difficult coin to find, and I very much doubt if many of them were struck. The gold mohur was also seldom met with. A period of famine usually brought out the gold coins from their lurking places, when the villagers would bring them to the money-changers for sale, the greater portion of them being in perfect condition and bearing no signs of use.

The pagodas and fanams were more plentiful. The natives were particularly fond of wearing gold coins as necklaces, and I remember seeing a necklace composed of 500 sovereigns strung in rows for the adornment of a wealthy native lady. Many of the rarest gold, and even silver coins, were marred by being bored or having a piece of metal attached for wear round the neck. The $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{16}$, and $\frac{1}{32}$ -rupee of Tipu are also of great rarity in Mysore; as are the half-fanams of Hyder.

I am much indebted to the late Captain Tufnell for the information contained in his *Catalogue of Mysore Coins*; to Dr. Hultzsck, formerly of the Archæological Survey Department; and to Mr. Thurston for his valuable catalogue of the Mysore coins in the Madras Museum.

SOME COPPER COINS ISSUED BY THE ENGLISH
EAST INDIA COMPANY AND OTHER EUROPEAN
POWERS IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY MAJOR R. P. JACKSON, *Indian Army (Retired)*.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Madras Presidency.

Figs. 1 to 9.—Copper coins of the East India Company, probably coined in Madras as they are not found outside that presidency.

Obverse.—The bale-mark of the East India Company surrounded by a beaded circle.


Reverse.—Crossed lines and symbols.


The date ١١١٧ هـ "Year A.H. 1117" = A.D. 1705, occurs on Figs. 4 and 5, and is written from right to left, instead of from left to right—evidently an error.

Eleven specimens were procured in Madras in 1892.

These crossed lines and symbols are frequently found on the reverses of Mysore and other Hindu coins, and were doubtless intended by the Company to make their issues as nearly as possible resemble those of the native princes. It is interesting to note that when the British obtained the grant of Madras in 1640, from one of the descendants of the ancient kings of Vijayanagar, the right of coining money was restricted by the proviso that the pattern in use during his dynasty should be followed. As the natives of India dislike change in the form of currency, it is probable that these coins would not have been accepted if they had not been somewhat similar, and possibly this accounts for these wretched little pieces which disgraced the English mints in India at this period.

Figs. 10 and 11.—

Obverse.— = Sri, "Fortune."

Reverse.— = Kumpani, Tamil for "company."

These copper coins are figured by Dr. Hultzsch in the *Indian Antiquary* for November, 1892, who remarks that the word "Sri" and "Sriranga" are the names of a celebrated shrine of Vishnu near Trichinopoly, and are also used as epithets of the God Vishnu himself. The reverses were "probably selected by the Company with the view of making their coin popular with the native public, and of matching the image of Vishnu, which was engraved on all the Madras pagodas."

Figs. 12, 13, and 14.—

Obverse.—An orb, surmounted by a cross.

Reverse.—ॐ, "Sri."

ॐ, "Ranga."

These small copper coins are also figured as No. 26, by Dr. Hultzsch under the same reference; the three specimens in my cabinet were given to me by him, and were found on the sea shore at St. Thomé, near Madras, having been cast up by the tide. A very similar coin is described by Atkins, p. 140, No. 34, which has the figure 78 inscribed on the lower portion of the orb, and has the addition of a double line between the two lines of the legend on the reverse.

Fig. 15.—

Obverse.—The bale-mark of the Company, *viz.*, a heart-shaped shield surmounted by the figure 4, and divided by a saltire, or St. Andrew's cross, into four compartments, which contain respectively the letters V.E.I.C., *i.e.*, United East India Company.

Reverse.—The date 1710.

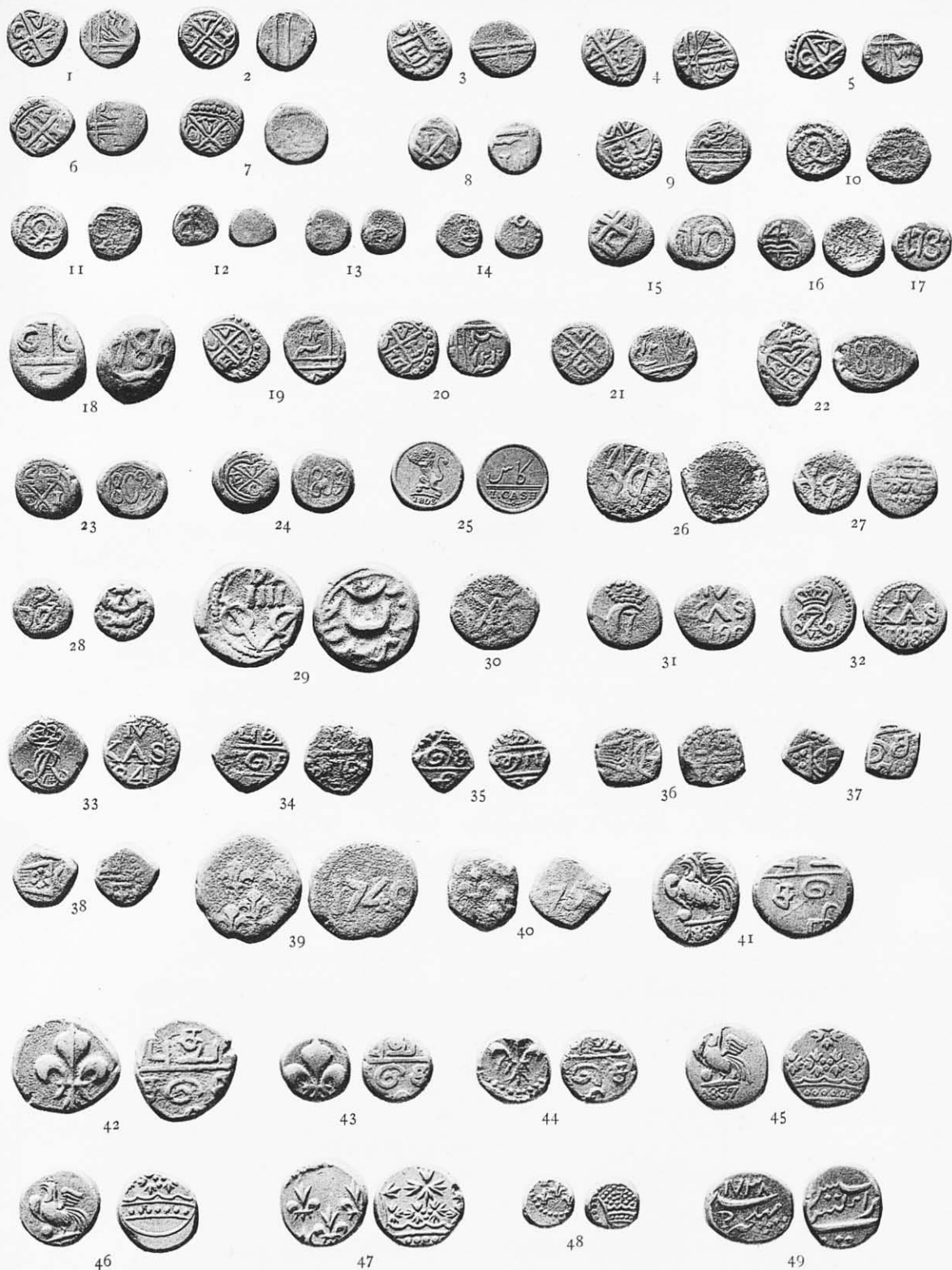
The earliest dated coins of the Company in the Catalogue of the coins in the Madras Museum are a thick copper coin bearing the monogram of the Company and date, 1732, and a small thin coin dated 1733.

Figs. 16 and 17.—As No. 15, but date 1733.

Fig. 18.—

Obverse.—Orb and cross inscribed $\frac{C. C.}{E}$ another form of the monogram of the East India Company.

Reverse.—The date [1]786 with a wavy line below.



LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO.

COINS ISSUED BY THE BRITISH, DUTCH, DANES AND FRENCH
IN SOUTHERN INDIA.



The earliest coin of this issue bears the date 1702, and the latest, 1801, the series thus ranging over exactly a century.

Figs. 19, 20, and 21.—

Obverse.—The bale-mark of the East India Company within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—Crossed lines with ۱۲۱۲ سنه = "Year 1212 A.H., i.e., A.D. 1797."

Figs. 22 and 23.—

Obverse.—Bale-mark of the East India Company.

Reverse.—The date 1803.

Similar coins bear date 1807.

Fig. 24.—As *Figs. 22 and 23*, but half the weight—evidently half-cash: 5 specimens.

"Discussion has arisen as to the origin and meaning of the 4 (which surmounts the monogram of the company, V.E.I.C.), but as a reference to the handbooks of the mercantile tokens of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries proves the same mark to be of very common occurrence on the pieces struck by tradesmen of those periods, I think there is every reason to regard it as merely a trade mark."¹

Fig. 25.—

Obverse.—A lion to the left, holding a crown, date 1803 below plain rim on face.

Reverse.—كس "Kas," 1 cash: plain rim on face.

A shop-keeper in Bangalore in 1892 brought me a bag containing about 200 of these little coins in mint preservation.

According to Atkins these coins were made in England, the whole of the preceding pieces being doubtless of local production.

Dutch Issues.

Fig. 26.—

Obverse.—N = Negapatam.

V.O.C. = Vereinigte Ostindische Compagnie.

Reverse.—நாகபட்டினம், Tamil for "Negapatam."

¹ Captain Tufnell's *Hints to Coin Collectors in Southern India*.

Fig. 27.—As *Fig. 26*, but half the weight : 4 specimens.

Fig. 28.—

Obverse.—P = Pulicat, V.O.C.

Reverse.—Said to be an emblematic sun and moon, possibly denoting permanency of rule, and an attempt at ضرب بلیکٹ Persian = "Struck at Pulicat."

Fig. 29.—As No. 28, but with the addition of IIII probably denoting 4 cash.

In 1783 Negapatam, the last Indian possession of the Dutch, was sold to the British. "When one looks at these rude caricatures of coins (and the British were not far ahead of the Dutch), and then compares them with the clear cut issues of the Moghuls and Pathans struck centuries before, fine in design and exquisite in workmanship, with every letter well defined and clear, one can hardly believe that we were posing among them as a civilised and civilising power, though for our own credit, be it said, we had not then got so far as the establishment of "Schools of Art."¹

DANISH ISSUES.

Fig. 30.—

Obverse.—D.A.C. "Dansk, Asiatisk Compagni." 4 below.

Reverse.—C "Christian" with 6 enclosed, crowned.

Fig. 31.—

Obverse.—C "Christian" with 7 enclosed, crowned.

Reverse.—IV KAS 1790.

The dates of the 4 cash pieces of Christian VII. are from 1782 to 1807.

Fig. 32.—

Obverse.—F.R. "Fredericus Rex" linked and crowned. VI below.

Reverse.—IV KAS 1833.

Fig. 33.—

Obverse.—C.R. "Christianus Rex" linked and crowned. VIII below.

Reverse.—IV KAS 1841.

¹ Captain Tufnell.

For a period of more than 200 years the Danish power enjoyed possession of its settlements in India, except between the years 1808 and 1814. In 1845 the Danish settlements were purchased by the British.

FRENCH ISSUES.

Figs. 34 and 35.—Dr. Hultzsch No. 30, *Ind. Antiq.*, Nov., 1892.

<i>Obverse.</i> —	புது	Pudu-	} = Pondicherry, Tamil.
	சச்சு	Chche-	
	ரி	ri-	
<i>Reverse.</i> —	கா	Ka-	} = Karikal, Tamil.
	நாகு	raik-	
	கல்	kâl	

Figs. 36, 37, and 38.—

Obverse.—An emblem.

Reverse.—Pondicherry, in Tamil.

Fig. 39.—

Obverse.—Fleurs-de-lys.

Reverse.—Date 1740.

Fig. 40.—As Fig. 39 but half the weight and date [1]752.

Fig. 41.—

Obverse.—A cock and date 1836.

Reverse.—Pondicherry, in Tamil.

Fig. 42.—

Obverse.—A fleur de lys.

Reverse.—Pondicherry, in Tamil.

Fig. 43.—As Fig. 42 but half the weight.

Fig. 44.—As Fig. 43 but with variation in the fleur de lys.

Figs. 45 and 46, silver.—

Obverse.—A cock and date 1837.

Reverse.—A crown.

Fig. 47, silver.—

Obverse.—Fleurs de lys.

Reverse.—Crown.

Fig. 48, silver.—As Fig. 47, but with variations in the crown and in the weight.

Fig. 49, silver.—

Obverse.—Pondicherry year 1738, Hindustani.

Reverse.—فرانس کمپنی (?)

“When we consider how extensive were the operations of the French forces in Southern India, and how wide the extent of country over which those operations were carried out, we cannot fail to be surprised at the small number of varieties of French coins struck in India. While the plodding merchants of the English East India Company were trading, building factories, and carrying out extensive mercantile transactions with the natives, leaving to their armies the defence of their rights and the extension of their territorial power, France, on the other hand, seems to have concentrated her whole energy in the operations of her forces, and to have paid comparatively little attention to the more peaceful avocations of her company.”¹

¹ Captain Tufnell.

THE PATTERN HALFPENNIES OF 1788 AND 1790
BY J. P. DROZ.

BY STANLEY BOUSFIELD, M.A., M.B.



THE pattern halfpennies of 1788 and 1790, by J. P. Droz can claim attention for several reasons.

1. They are the first British pieces issued from the new steam presses set up by Matthew Boulton at the Soho Mint, Birmingham.
2. They are excellent examples of the earlier work of Droz, and exhibit the improvements he brought about in the processes of striking.
3. They are an interesting series, which has never been properly described, nor separated from the re-strikes.

CLASSIFICATION.

These pieces are best divided into three classes :—

- A. Patterns of which contemporary strikings exist.
- B. Trial pieces.
- C. Modern concoctions.

CLASS A.—PATTERNS OF WHICH CONTEMPORARY STRIKINGS
EXIST.

It is obviously so advantageous to keep to the existing standard reference for these patterns, viz., *Montagu's Copper Coins of England*, that I have followed his classification as closely as possible, and Nos. 1, 4, 5 and 8 in the following list refer to the patterns he describes. There is, however, among those of 1788 a very interesting and unnoticed pattern, and to leave a place for it in the list as No. 2, I have

classed those given in *Montagu* as Nos. 2 and 3 together as No. 3. They only differ as regards their edge, and have no greater claim to division than Nos. 4 and 8, which show the same varieties.

The pattern *Montagu* gives as No. 5 refers to the same and probably unique piece that I describe. He, however, gives no description of it, though the whole figure of Britannia is entirely different.

In arranging the patterns of 1790, *Montagu* suggests the distinction of the presence or absence of a flower at the end of the legend on the reverse, and thus separates two patterns as Nos. 6 and 7. This distinction does not exist, and so these numbers are left for patterns with two distinct types of reverse.

No. 8 is as *Montagu* describes it, and all examples of it have the reverse of No. 6.

No. 1, *Montagu*, No. 1.—See Plate I, No. 1.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS III ♦ D ♦ G ♦ REX ♦

Laureated bust to the right, resembling that of Louis XVI.

Below the tie-knot to the hair, a thick and nearly straight mass of hair descends behind the neck and then curls forward under the bust, a curl also falling on the shoulder. The point of the bust in front nearly reaches to the beaded margin of the coin, which is present on all these patterns. On the truncation is D.F. in raised letters; and below the bust is an eagle's head above a thunderbolt. Four lozenge-shaped stops occur in the legend.

Reverse.—In the field, "BRITANNIA ♦ 1788 ♦"

Britannia seated on the globe; the robe is flowing and its lower margin has an embroidered edge showing a pattern of leaves and berries on a stem. The raised right hand clasps a spear, the left hand holds a garland and rests on a shield. The right leg is extended and the left bent to a right angle. On the supporting base is shown a bunch of leaves in front of the globe and also under the shield, the letter D being just in front of the latter. In the exergue are a ship's rudder and palm branch crossed. A lozenge-shaped stop occurs after BRITANNIA and after the date.

This pattern occurs as bronzed with a plain edge. The coin illustrated on the plate is from the Brice and Caldecott collections. It is now in that of Fleet-Surgeon Weightman and is referred to by Mr. Montagu in his book as a genuinely struck specimen.



1



2



4



5



6



7

LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO.

PATTERN HALFPENNIES BY DROZ.
ENLARGED TO TWICE THE DIAMETER.

PL. I.

No. 2. This pattern is not described in *Montagu*. Plate I, No. 2.

Obverse.—Resembles No. 1 but the eagle's head and thunderbolt are absent.

The hair on the crown of the head and below the bust also shows more finished curls, some further work having been added to the die.

The D.F. is present as on No. 1.

Reverse.—As No. 1.

This pattern occurs as bronzed with a *guilloche* edge. The only two which I have seen are in Mr. Weightman's and my own collections, and they are fine and contemporary striking.

No. 3. *Montagu* Nos. 2 and 3, which only differ as to their edges.

Obverse.—Resembles No. 2 but the die has been altered by a process of grinding. The point of the bust has been shortened and is in lower relief; there is also less hair below the bust. The D.F. is present as on Nos. 1 and 2.

Reverse.—As Nos. 1 and 2.

This pattern occurs as copper, bronzed, gilt, and silver-plated. The edge is plain, *guilloche*, or inscribed in raised letters :—RENDER TO CESAR THE THINGS WHICH ARE CESARS :

No. 4. *Montagu* No. 4. Plate I, No. 4.

Obverse.—This presents an entirely new die. The legend and the features of the face are the same as before. The truncation of the neck is more everted and the D.F. is absent from it. The front of the bust nearly reaches to the beaded margin, but the end is not so pointed. The tie-knot stands further out from the head, and the hair falling below it is thinner but more curled, nor does it now cover the outline of the back of the shoulder. On the beaded margin a flaw appears below the back of the shoulder.

Reverse.—As patterns Nos. 1, 2 and 3.

The pattern occurs as copper and also bronzed, with either an inscribed or *guilloche* edge.

No. 5. *Montagu* No. 5. Plate I, No. 5.

Obverse.—From the same die as No. 4, and showing the flaw.

Reverse.—In the field, BRITANNIA*. In exergue, 1788.

This presents an entirely different figure of Britannia. The robe is absent and the figure is clothed with clinging drapery. The left leg is extended and the right bent behind it at a right angle. Thus a larger area of the globe is shown than on the previous patterns, where the left leg is bent backwards partly covering it. The right arm is raised to grasp the spear, but the drapery does not reach to the elbow as on the previous patterns. The supporting base is narrower, and there is no bunch of leaves in front of the globe; also the D is absent. The date in the exergue takes the place of the crossed rudder and palm branch.

This pattern is in copper with a plain edge. It is in my collection, being from the Brice, Montagu and Murdoch cabinets, and is a brilliant and original striking. The surface shows that two bad cracks had occurred in the die, and probably the piece is unique. I have mentioned that *Montagu* gives no description of this figure of Britannia in his book, and although under No. 760, in Messrs. Spink and Son's Catalogue of his collection it is well illustrated, no more detail is given.

No. 6. Plate I, No. 6.

Obverse.—GEORGIVS III. D. G. REX, followed by a flower in the form of a horizontal V, as stop.

Laureated head of George III. to right. Hair curling under bust but not so full as on the patterns of 1788, and no curl on the shoulder. On the truncation is DROZ F in sunk letters, which are in a straight line and have no stops. Three lozenge-shaped dots and a flower occur in the legend. Also the U in the King's name on the patterns of 1788 is changed into a V on those of 1790.

Reverse.—In the field, BRITANNIA followed by the same flower as stop. In exergue ⌘1790⌘

Similar figure of Britannia with globe and shield; the left hand resting on the shield and grasping the spear instead of a garland. The right hand is extended, only showing clearly the thumb and bent first finger. Clinging draperies take the place of the embroidered robe, and the left foot is hidden behind the extended right leg. There is a laurel branch behind the shield. The supporting base is narrower between the shield and the spear, and the part behind the lower end of the spear rises into a conical excrescence. A flower occurs after BRITANNIA. In exergue is DR. F. below the feet, and a pierced quatrefoil occurs both before and after the date, although that to the left is only distinguished from a lozenge by careful examination of the coin itself. A marked

flaw runs from the F through the 1 of the date, and is the easiest factor to distinguish this reverse.

This pattern occurs as copper, bronzed or gilt ; and the edge is plain, *guilloche*, or inscribed in raised letters with the RENDER, etc., legend. In the National Collection are two specimens of this pattern acquired in 1810 from the Roberts cabinet, and another acquired in 1818 from the Banks collection.

No. 7. Plate I, No. 7.

Obverse.—As No. 6.

Reverse.—Differs from the reverse of No. 6 in the following four main points :—

- (1) The extended right hand clearly shows two bent fingers.
- (2) The supporting base is of the same width throughout, and there is no conical excrescence behind the spear.
- (3) In the exergue, there is only one quatrefoil, which follows the date.
- (4) The flaw is absent.

This pattern occurs as bronzed or gilt ; and the edge is *guilloche*, or inscribed in either raised or sunk letters with the RENDER, etc., legend.

The three specimens I have seen with the inscription in sunk letters are all bronzed ; that in the National Collection came from the Freudenthall cabinet in 1870 ; and it is curious that this pattern is the only example in the Museum with this reverse. Mr. Weightman has a gilt pattern with inscribed edge in raised letters, and in its original metal box. The box has a label on which is written *Gilt penny given to me by Mr. Boulton 1790 at Soho, Birmingham. B.F.G.* The piece also has a history that dates it back to nearly this time, and so confirms that this reverse was not only an original design by Droz, but also used at the time.

No. 8. *Montagu* No. 8.

Obverse.—Resembles that of Nos. 6 and 7, but the hair does not curl forward under the bust. Instead of occurring on the truncation of the shoulder DROZ. F. is below the bust near the beaded margin, and

following its curve. In the legend, three pierced quatrefoils take the place of the lozenge-shaped stops.

Reverse.—As No. 6.

This pattern occurs as bronzed, and in silver and gold. The edge is *guilloche*, or inscribed in raised letters with the RENDER, etc., legend. Mr. Montagu mentions mules struck from the obverse of No. 8 and the reverse of No. 1, and I have the two specimens he describes, one having been kindly given to me by Mr. W. J. Davis. They, as well as similar pieces, have a guilloche edge and are all, apparently, late strikings from the Soho Mint.

CLASS B.—TRIAL PIECES.

No. 9.

Obverse.—In the field, BRITANNIA. In exergue, 1790.

The figure of Britannia resembles that on the patterns of 1790; but a paddle takes the place of the spear, and there is no laurel branch behind the shield. Upon the paddle are shown a dolphin and trident.

In exergue, under the foot is DROZ., under the shield is F., and below the date is DROZ. INV.

Reverse.—Similar figure of Britannia but nude, and the shield and paddle are plain. There is no inscription, and the edge also is plain.

Obverse impressions of these pieces are struck from two dies; the sharper shows a long flaw through the first four letters of the legend, and when the die cracked a second was made. Mr. Montagu is mistaken in saying that contemporary examples of this piece exist. The Rev. G. F. Crowther kindly writes me that when he visited the late Mr. W. J. Taylor's workshops about 1884, he was told that the die of the nude Britannia had not been hardened when it came into the latter's possession. In the *Proceedings* of the Numismatic Society, under the date of April 24th, 1862, it is reported that "Mr. Madden exhibited a cast of a pattern of a halfpenny of the reign of George III. It is similar to the halfpennies designed by the French artist Droz, save that Britannia is nude. The work is beautiful, but the design evidently the mere whim of the artist." Also in the same year, 1862, the British Museum acquired from the late Mr. Whelan a piece with



10



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13



14



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16

LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO.

PATTERN HALFPENNIES BY DROZ.
ENLARGED TO TWICE THE DIAMETER.

PL. II.

one side blank and the nude Britannia on the other side. But there is no piece in the Collection, as Mr. Montagu asserts on page 103 of his book, with an incuse obverse of Pattern No. 8. This date probably indicates the beginning of the re-strikes. So that although this piece cannot be put into Class I, the dies were undoubtedly made by Droz, and I have classed it as a trial piece.

No. 10. Plate II, No. 10.

This is a model by Droz of the nude Britannia type. It is struck on a thick flan, the size of the penny of 1797, that is 37 mm. in diameter, one side and the edge being plain, and it has a well raised and sharp rim on the engraved side. The general outline and size of the nude Britannia, globe, shield and paddle are the same as on the piece just described. The right arm exhibits an alternative position for the forearm: in one it is extended with a pointing first finger, showing also a thumb and two bent fingers; in the other it is raised and holds a wand which extends downwards as far as the middle of the right thigh. This forearm for its whole length continues close to the wand, whereas in the patterns of 1788 the arm only reaches the spear at the hand.

The other chief differences from the ordinary patterns are as follows:—The head is more gracefully poised on the shoulders, and has a more definitely round knob of hair at the back. No space is shown between the knees, and the lower margin of the shield is well raised above the supporting base. The upper end of the paddle is hollowed out, a raised line running down its centre, and the handle terminates in a round knob, whilst in the centre of the globe is a dot. The surface of the piece is divided into rectangular spaces by eleven perpendicular and nine horizontal lines, two circular lines are also drawn at distances of one mm. and four mm. from the rim. Unfortunately these lines are so faint that they are scarcely discernible in the illustration. The ends of the supporting base just touch the inner circle.

This is a beautiful trial piece and very carefully executed, especially as regards the junction of the two forearms at the elbow and the delicate lines which are for the purposes of copying. The concentric circles are drawn from the navel as the centre, and might indicate the position of the lettering and the inner edge of the ornamental border, if Droz

intended the finished piece to be of this size, and so a pattern for a penny. However, it is much more likely that it was an early model for the halfpenny patterns.

No. 11. Plate II, No. 11.

This is an unfinished trial piece, by Droz, of the type of the patterns of 1790. It is struck on a thin flan the size of the halfpennies, one side being plain. All that is shown is a figure of Britannia with globe and shield and the base which supports them. The piece is not centrally struck, and shows three-quarters of the circumference of a circular line which would approximately mark the inner limit of the ornamental border, and which touches the left extremity of the supporting base. The figure of Britannia is like that on the patterns of 1790, but the right arm is missing from the shoulder. The shield is similar, but the globe is considerably reduced in size, and touches neither shield nor supporting base, the latter not being prolonged to the right beyond the shield. The surface shows definite lines indicating the position of the spear, and starting from the amputated shoulder the outlines of two arms are also faintly scratched in, although the lower of the two is rather difficult to trace. One arm is raised, and the open hand has the palm turned upwards : whilst the other is extended, and points a little downwards. Probably Droz was designing a new device but never completed it, as these lines were in the die. It is an interesting point of resemblance between this and the previous trial piece, that both show an alternative position of the right arm. I am much indebted to M. Georges Gallet for kindly presenting me with this piece, which is illustrated in Mr. Forrer's *Dictionary of Medallists*, under "Droz."

CLASS C. MODERN CONCOCTIONS.

This class comprises two reverses and three obverses, all of which I believe to be concoctions. Examples are only found on pieces which are obviously modern. As regards the scroll-pattern border to the robe, I have an unfinished die showing this border, which is one of those which belonged to the late Mr. W. J. Taylor, and it is on a modern die-block.

No. 12.

This reverse resembles that of No. 1, but the embroidered edge of the robe shows a scroll pattern, instead of leaves and berries on a stem.

No. 13. Plate II, No. 13.

This reverse has a similar figure of Britannia to No. 12, with the scroll pattern border to the robe. The date, 1788, is in the exergue, and on the supporting base the bunch of leaves in front of the globe and the D are absent.

No. 14. Plate II, No. 14.

This obverse is from the altered die for the Bermuda penny, so the stops in the legend are round instead of lozenge-shaped. The signature on the truncation is almost, but not quite, obliterated.

This obverse only occurs with reverse from a rusted die of that of Pattern No. 7. The specimens are in gilt or bronzed, and always have the inscribed edge which is very well put on. Mr. Montagu describes the piece as a variety of his Pattern No. 6.

No. 15. Plate II, No. 15.

This obverse resembles that of No. 6, except for slight differences in the curls of the hair, and that the truncation of the shoulder, which is more everted, has DROZ. F. following its upper curve and two stops added.

I have two specimens in silver struck with reverses Nos. 12 and 13.

No. 16. Plate II, No. 16.

This obverse is the same as the last as regards the truncation and signature, but the hair does not curl forward under the bust.

THE RARITY OF THE PATTERNS OF CLASS I, AND THEIR
RE-STRIKES.

No. 1. Exceedingly rare as a contemporary striking. Re-strikes showing this obverse are very plentiful, but with this reverse are not so, although the die was used.

- No. 2. Very rare. No re-strikes with this obverse are known.
- No. 3. Frequently occurs both as original and late strikings. Rarer bronzed than gilt, silver plated uncommon. Rare with plain edge, most plentiful with inscribed edge.
- No. 4. Rare. No re-strikes with this obverse are known. Rarer with *guilloche* than with inscribed edge.
- No. 5. Probably unique.
- No. 6. This pattern is not uncommon, and probably all with this reverse were struck, early or late, at Soho. Rare with plain edge, and most frequent with inscribed edge; rarer gilt than bronzed.

The re-strikes showing this head of George III., with other reverses, are usually from slightly altered dies.

- No. 7. The reverse die is very seldom met with on original strikings, so this pattern is rare. Very rare with inscribed edge incuse, and no modern re-strikes of this variety are known. The dies for the reverse have been very extensively used for modern re-strikes, many of the pieces showing alterations to them.
- No. 8. Is fairly rare in bronze and very rare in silver. Edge usually *guilloche*, but a piece in the National Collection has an inscribed edge. Also the pattern in gold with an inscribed edge, from the Thomas (1862), Chetwynd, Marshall, Brice, Montagu and Murdoch collections, is probably unique. These dies escaped the modern re-striker.

Re-strikes in general, I will leave for my future paper on the Soho Mint, but these pieces were first struck outside the mint by the late Mr. W. J. Taylor sometime between 1862 and 1880. Another crop has sprung up more recently, to which belong all those which are also struck in aluminium or gold, with the exception of that of pattern No. 8, just mentioned.

The Murdoch collection contained thirty-four quite modern "patterns" of halfpenny-pieces of George III. in gold.

A number also of the patterns by Droz were undoubtedly "late

striking" at the mint. They are from dies which are neither "touched up" nor repolished, but which were somewhat rusty. A die quickly rusts if not properly cared for, and no doubt these were used to supply examples of the elegant patterns to visitors to the mint, or to friends of the authorities. However, at what date these "late striking" were made it is impossible to say; but they are not difficult to distinguish from the great class of modern re-strikes.

It is curious that the examples of No. 14 have an excellently inscribed edge; for re-strikes very seldom have it at all, and when present it is generally very uneven. Mr. J. H. Dormer, who has kindly given me some information on this subject, remembers seeing the split collar with which this edge was put on, at Mr. Taylor's workshop. He tells me it was a heavy and cumbrous thing and difficult to use; so probably it merely chanced that in striking these few examples of No. 14 the collar worked satisfactorily.

Mr. Dormer also made a list of the dies in Mr. Taylor's possession, which confirms my statement as to which patterns were never re-struck.

The quite recent pieces in aluminium present the following dies:—obverse of No. 1, reverse of No. 7, the two reverses Nos. 12 and 13, the obverse No. 15, also both obverse and reverse of No. 9.

It is interesting to note that a modern and so-called Droz farthing, dated 1788, has a reverse closely resembling that of the unique pattern No. 5. It is reproduced below, as is also another farthing copied from the pattern halfpennies of 1790. I have the puncheon for the reverse of the latter from the late Mr. W. J. Taylor's set of dies.



SO-CALLED DROZ FARTHING.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

Jean Pierre Droz, a Swiss, was born at La Chaux-de-Fonds in 1746, and died at Paris in 1823. He showed a great talent for drawing and was sent to Paris when only 18 years of age, to study the art of engraving. In 1783 he was able to offer to the Paris Mint Authorities some suggestions for improvements, and in 1786 he presented his first noticeable pieces to the Minister of Finance. These were two varieties of a pattern for an écu of six livres, which had the edges inscribed in raised letters. They were struck on both sides and on the edge with a single blow, by means of a new press which introduced Droz's invention of the *virole brisée*, or split collar. In 1787, he also struck a Louis d'or by the same press, but although these pieces were favourably received and much admired, the artist did not get the encouragement in France that he deserved. Droz consequently accepted an engagement with Boulton and Watt, and came to England just at this interesting period. Boulton had entered into partnership with Watt in 1772, and it was through his help that the inventor of the steam engine, after many trials and difficulties extending over seven years, was enabled to complete and introduce it.

In the year 1786, the steam engine had been applied to the stamping of money in executing the contract with the East India Company for over a hundred tons of copper coin; but these pattern halfpennies by Droz were the first British coins to be struck by the steam presses. By the end of 1788, six presses were fitted and ready for work at Soho. They were patented by Boulton in 1790, but it is uncertain whether some of the credit should not be given to Droz for his help in this work. Through the courtesy of Mr. George Tangye and Mr. Kirton I was able, at the Cornwall works, to inspect the clear and original plans for these mint engines, which are dated 1788. Also, I have a copy of a letter from the same source, written by Watt to Droz and dated November 24th, 1790, quoting the price of £1,190 for a 14-h.p. engine, or £750 for an engine of 8-h.p. It was, however, not for Droz himself but to be sent abroad, so may not have been intended for coinage purposes.

James Watt, in his manuscript memoir of his friend Boulton, gives the following account of how they came into touch with Droz :—

In 1786 Mr. Boulton and I were in France, where we saw a very fine crown-piece executed by Mr. P. Droz in a new manner. It was coined in a collar split into six parts, which came together when the dies were brought in contact with the blank, and formed the edge and the inscription upon it. Mr. Droz had also made several improvements in the coining-press, and pretended to others in the art of multiplying the dies. As to his mechanical abilities Droz joined that of being a good die-sinker, Mr. Boulton contracted with him to come over to England at a high salary, and work at Soho. Mr. Droz was found to be of a very troublesome disposition. Several of his contrivances being found not to answer, were obliged to be better contrived or totally changed by Mr. Boulton and his assistants. The split collar was found to be difficult of execution ; and being subject to wear very soon when in use, it was consequently unfit for an extensive coinage. Other methods were therefore invented and applied by Mr. Boulton, and the use of Droz's collar was entirely given up.

Droz also produced the following coins for his English employers :—the so-called pattern shilling, dated 1787, and sixpences, dated 1790 and 1791 : the penny for Bermuda in 1793, and the reverse die used for the pattern halfpenny of 1795. Among the English medals which he executed, the best known are those of General Eliott, Governor of Gibraltar ; George III. on his recovery, 1789 ; and several of Mudie's national series.

On his return to France, Droz was appointed by the Directoire Keeper of the Coins and Medals, and he was Keeper of the Mint-Museum from 1804 to 1814. His head of Napoleon was used on the French gold coins from 1806 to 1814, and nearly to the time of his death he continued to engrave many splendid coins and medals.

I will not attempt to give any minute account of the technical inventions of Droz, but he made great improvements in the rolling-mill, chiefly as regards the gear which moves the two cylinders at the same time, and in the method of holding the upper cylinder firmly at a given distance parallel to the lower.

However, he chiefly employed his inventive genius in improving every part of the striking machine, the split collar being perhaps his

best achievement, and this afforded the safest guarantee also against counterfeiting. The halfpennies with inscribed edges show the divisions of the collar as six transverse ridges. Thus, even apart from the distinction we should grant to Droz as an engraver, we must also accord him a very high status for his other work.

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OFFA



BEORNWULF



BURGRED



ÆLFRED



EADWEARD THE ELDER



ÆTHELSTAN



EADMUND



EADRED



EADGAR



EADWEARD THE MARTYR



ÆTHELRÆD II.



CNUT



HAROLD I.



HARTHACNUT



EADWARD THE CONFESSOR



HAROLD II.



WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR



WILLIAM RUFUS.



HENRY I.



STEPHEN



HENRY II.



RICHARD I, (time of)



JOHN (time of)



HENRY III.



HENRY VIII.



ELIZABETH



CHARLES I.



WILLIAM AND MARY



EDWARD VII.



OFFA



BEORNWULF



BURGED



ÆLFRED



EADWEARD THE ELDER



ÆTHELSTAN



EADMUND



EADRED



EADGAR



EADWEARD THE MARTYR



ÆTHELRÆD II.



CNUT



HAROLD I.



HARTHACNUT



EADWARD THE CONFESSOR



HAROLD II.



WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR



WILLIAM RUFUS.



HENRY I.



STEPHEN



HENRY II.



RICHARD I. (*time of*)



JOHN (*time of*)



HENRY III.



HENRY VIII.



ELIZABETH



CHARLES I.



WILLIAM AND MARY




EDWARD VII.

PORTRAITURE ON THE SILVER PENNY.

EVOLUTION OF PORTRAITURE ON THE SILVER PENNY.

By W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A., *Secretary.*

 HE accompanying plate was prepared for *Leaves from the Journal of the British Numismatic Society*, but it has been thought of sufficient interest to deserve a place amongst the more permanent pages of this *Journal*, and I have therefore been asked to write some notes upon it.

Although the plate is intituled "Portraiture on the Silver Penny," the coins were intended to show at a glance, so far as the space of a single plate would allow, the identity of every silver penny issued during the eleven and a half centuries that have passed from the reign of Offa to the present day. Any remarks, therefore, I may make upon them, must be merely the outcome of passing thoughts, for the rule that illustrations are adapted to the paper upon them, is here reversed and the position is consequently novel.

According to a transcript of the time of Alfred, the penny is first mentioned in the Laws of Ina, A.D. 725, as "X *pæninga*," but so far as our numismatic evidence extends, it was not until the second half of the century that the silver penny first appeared on the scene of British commerce. It superseded the Saxon sceatta and was in fact the Roman *denarius* reproduced in form and size, though reduced by one half in thickness and, consequently, by one half in weight. The word itself is derived from the old Germanic *pand* = a pledge, for the origin of all money was its value in weight of metal as certified or "pledged" by its official stamping. The modern signs *d* for pence

and *d-wt* for penny-weight represent *denarius* and *denarius*-weight respectively, and when in our early days we lisped "Twenty-four grains make one penny-weight" we little thought that it referred to the actual weight of the Saxon penny itself, which was 24 grains Tower, equal to $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains Troy.

OFFA, KING OF MERCIA, A.D. 757-796.—Our first illustration represents the penny as it was introduced. The artist was therefore free from conventionality and looked direct to the classic for his art. Hence the bust of the King is a portrait, and the proof of this is apparent if we compare the face before us with that, for example, of No. 4 on the plate to page 73 of this volume. For the costume, however, he was content with his model, for the head-dress, remarkable as it is, was a symbol of sovereignty found on *bracteates* of the same and an earlier period; whilst the drapery, which represents the folds of the cloak or mantle thrown loosely over the shoulders and exposing the tunic below, is depicted on contemporary representations:—compare the Franks casket in the British Museum, which is of British origin. The legend is subservient to the bust, being left to the field of the coin, and the latter has to be held horizontally for the two words to be read upright. This feature of legends reading from the left is not infrequent on early Saxon work, as, for instance, on the Conbelin cross at Margam Abbey. On the other hand, although customary in Celtic times, the introduction of ornamental pellets at this period seems to be almost peculiar to the coinage, for Saxon art was mainly derived from the Italo-Byzantine, and therefore favoured continuity of designs such as bands, coils and knot-work, nevertheless pellets are interspersed and similarly grouped in the plaques of the Franks casket. The constant preference for groups of three, whether of pellets as on this coin, or of crosses, or of lines of legend in the early Anglo-Saxon series, seems to suggest a reference to the Trinity.

The design of the reverse is typical of early Christian art. It appears on a slab in the Church of Sta. Sabina at Rome, and is found with slight variations on several early Saxon crosses in these Isles; indeed, it is worthy of note that every, or nearly every,

reverse design of Offa's varied coinage finds its counterpart upon these megalithic memorials.

The absence of an inner circle, the position of the obverse legend, the head-dress and the purity of the art disclosed, incline me to class this as one of Offa's earliest types.

BEORNWULF, KING OF MERCIA, A.D. 823-826.—Only a few years have passed but art has given place to conventionality. The image of the King has become subservient to the legend of his name and title. To mark this, an inner concentric circle had been already introduced, a feature intermittently continued on our coinage until the reign of Charles II. This, as will be seen on the plate, always detracts from the artistic effect of the coins on which it is present. The head is no longer a portrait, save that in the brushed-back appearance of the hair it, no doubt, conforms to the state fashion of the day, for a single but important figure on the Franks casket is similarly treated.

The reverse device is a plain cross-crosslet, a symbol common to all Christian memorials.

BURGRED, KING OF MERCIA, A.D. 852-874.—Whilst the art of design and portraiture has now reached its ebb, that of detail and arrangement in the lettering has almost correspondingly advanced, and this is further evidence of the increasing importance attached to the legends.

ALFRED THE GREAT, A.D. 871-900.—The coinage of Alfred is typical of the history of his time. During the acute struggle with the Danes in the earlier half of his reign, there was no thought of art, but in his later and more peaceful years it advanced with rapid strides. Here we see a fairly successful attempt at a portrait, for if a series of the coins of this late type is compared, the same character of features will be found to be more or less present in all the specimens. Once more the bust of the King is the primary object and the legend is relegated to the field. Although Alfred is the first of our kings to be recorded as having worn a crown, and Robert of Gloucester mentions

that it was blessed by the Pope, he, like his predecessors, is content on his coinage to appear in the diadem or fillet, a symbol dating from Greek and Roman times, and, no doubt, copied by the Saxons from the coinage of the latter empire. On this type he is represented in a highly ornamented tunic. This robe, which was slipped over the head, and is so depicted in the Cotton manuscripts,¹ acquired its ornate character from the East, where the Emperor Anastasius, as preserved to us on a diptych, wore a very similar garment, even perhaps more profusely decorated. Thence it passed to us through the Franks, and still remains in evidence as the chasuble of ecclesiastical vestments.

On the reverse the idea of elaborating the mint-name, here LONDONIA, into a monogrammic design was not an innovation, but was rather an extension of the custom of using ligulated letters on archaic monuments, for the *chi-rho* cross itself is but a primitive form of monogram.

EDWARD THE ELDER, A.D. 900-924.—This specimen is perhaps the most artistic of any of his coins known to us to-day, and it may claim to show a careful attempt at portraiture. The best means we have of testing the qualities of an artist to reproduce the features of his model, is to criticise his art as disclosed by the rest of the work. The inconvenience of the robes which had to pass over the head in Alfred's day, was soon realised, and the stiff and adorned tunic was changed for a loose mantle with embroidered borders, which was merely fastened by a fibula or brooch over the shoulder. Here we have it carefully represented, even to the double folds which hide the fibula, and an artist who could be so accurate in these details may be relied upon to have preserved the general features, at least, of his subject. The graceful and flowing hair is, again, another evidence of portraiture, for we know that long hair "was a mark of the highest rank amongst the Franks, none of whom, save princes of the blood and the nobility, were permitted to wear it in flowing ringlets; an express law commanding the commonality to cut their hair close round the middle of the forehead, *ad frontam mediam circumtonsos*."²

¹ Claudius, B. 4.

² *Jus Capillitii*.

The reverse invites no comment, but as Messrs. Spink and Sons brought the following rare variety of a penny of the following reign to the notice of the Society, I venture to illustrate it here.



RARE VARIETY OF A PENNY OF ÆTHELSTAN.

It is of a class, peculiar to these two reigns, which alone in the Saxon series adopts an architectural design. The two annulets, which probably in their origin represented the ring of St. Peter, disclose that it was issued at York, and the building would be that of the Saxon Minster. The *Chronicle of Melrose* tells us that in 921, Regnald, King of the Danes, who inhabited Northumbria, and King Sihtric did homage to Edward. I therefore suggest that it was on this occasion that the rebuilding of the Minster, which had been destroyed by the Danes, was commenced, that the nave was completed in 925 when Athelstan gave his sister in marriage to Sihtric, then King of the Northumbrians, and that these interesting coins of Edward and Athelstan were struck at York to commemorate the restoration of its Minster.¹ The architecture shown in the above building represents the west front, for on the ground floor is a central doorway. Above this are windows between upright and cross courses in a recognised Saxon form, which reproduced the earlier wooden tie-beams by stone courses, as at Bradford-on-Avon, and Earls Barton tower. The roof, too, is faithfully represented, for the curved overlaps reproduce the rounded edges of the wooden slabs, known as shingles, then used instead of tiles.

The Saxon cross at Bakewell on one side represents a high tower or building of this character composed of four storeys of arched niches enclosing figures of saints, the whole being surmounted by a similar

¹ Nos. 13 and 14, Plate VIII, vol. ii, of *The British Museum Catalogue*, probably show the design for the east end of the nave with triple arches as at Bradwell, and No. 15 that of the west front when completed with aisles.

roof, above which is represented the Crucifixion.¹ It is interesting to compare this figure in stone with the minute picture before us, when we remember that in 924 "before midsummer King Edward went with his forces . . . into Peakland to Bakewell, and commanded a burgh to be built nigh thereunto, and manned it," for though the *Saxon Chronicle* does not tell us that he erected the cross, there is every probability, I think, that it is contemporary with the coins of this class; and it is quite possible that the design on the cross represents a church then founded by Edward, for we know that Bakewell had a church in Saxon times.

ATHELSTAN, A.D. 924-940.—Again, we have a coin specially selected from the point of view of art, and it is one of the very few specimens of the reign which can claim any attempt at portraiture. Examined with a lens, and eliminating from mind the two flaws, or slips of the graver which mar the outline, we have a remarkably intelligent face with clean cut features. True, the eye is too pronounced, but the nose, mouth and chin are not only natural but pleasing, and even the muscles of the jaw are depicted. At this period, as will be seen in the first eight coins on the plate, the artists were quite conversant with the laws of perspective. To attain this effect they clearly mark the prominent features, but allow the background to gradually disappear into the field of the coin. Thus the rounded back of the neck is never outlined, for it would be lost in shadow, and on the busts of Offa, Edward and Athelstan, the hair also is allowed to fade away as it rounds the head; indeed Offa's is shaded in its coils.

It is now that the crown, as distinguished from the fillet, first appears on the Saxon coinage. It is simple in form, being merely a circular band surmounted by four pillars terminating in globes or pearls, and Athelstan's contemporary, Charles le Chauve, is depicted wearing a similar crown. Although the fillet on the two preceding coins rested naturally on the head, Athelstan here returns to the barbaric custom of wearing a royal coiffure. We know that the crown of Alfred in its

¹ The Crucifixion is really a separate design, for it occupies the cross-head, but the roof of the tower formed a convenient base-line or even perhaps represented the mount Golgotha.

later days weighed $79\frac{1}{2}$ ozs., but this was probably after many additions ; nevertheless, even the plainest diadem of gold would have required more than the support that natural hair could give it, so the secret of a concealed frame-work beneath is here disclosed. Such a head-dress has survived amongst the women of Iceland, where it is greased and polished like ebony, and is worn day and night without redressing.

To use one of the most erroneous terms of our numismatic vocabulary, we here see Athelstan " with an annulet on the left shoulder." It is nothing of the kind, for the so-called annulet is the large enamelled brooch so characteristic of Saxon metal-work, and we have only to refer to the national costume of Scotland to see the same circular and broad brooch in silver still preserved for the fastening of the mantle, or plaid, over the shoulder as worn by Athelstan.

The reverse design had been popular since the time of Alfred, and with the exception of Canute and Harold II., was occasionally used by all the succeeding Saxon kings. It is probably emblematical of the cross of Christianity within the ring of eternity. On its secular use in guiding the division of the penny into halfpence and farthings I need not comment. It will be seen that in one form or another, the cross is present on the reverse of every coin shown in the plate until the reign of Charles I., inclusive, excepting those of Ethelred II. and Harold II. It came in with the custom of severing the penny into halfpence, and went out with the introduction of the copper halfpenny.

EDMUND THE ATHELING, A.D. 940-946.—Little need be said of this coin for it is a close imitation of the last. Indeed, if it be examined through a lens, faint traces of the two first letters, *ÆÐ*, of Athelstan's name will be discerned, suggesting that it is from a die of his merely altered to Edmund's name.

EDRED, A.D. 946-955.—Hitherto our specimens have been in advance of the artistic merits of their kind, but now we have an example of a well struck and finely preserved penny of but average workmanship. It is a poor copy of Athelstan's type and as such is the last on which the high coiffure appears.

EDGAR, A.D. 957-975. —With decay of art usually arises precision of detail, and here we have an illustration. Portraiture is abandoned and every line is cut deep in the die, no matter whether it be a single hair or the outline of the neck. The costume is more elaborate and closely follows that of a representation of this King in one of the Cotton manuscripts,¹ even to the profuse ornamentation of embroidered pearls. His crown, however, is there of the massive square order, and it is to another² of the series that we must look for the light diadem shown on the coin. It will be noticed that from the back of the crown are suspended two strings or tassels, and similar tassels are appended either at the back, or to either side of the crowns on our coins until as late as the Norman period. They hang from the mitre of the Archbishop in "The Vision of Henry I."; Cardinals, Bishops and Abbots were distinguished by their cords or bands and the number of the tassels; the Lord Chancellor wore a cable band, and so on down to the sombre hat-bands, or streamers, of our early Victorian funerals. There can be only one meaning in this, and it is that these tassels, cords and bands were badges of authority; and, as such, worn on all state occasions, of which a funeral was not the least. The black cap, as part of a Judge's full dress—for he wears it on all state and ceremonial occasions—is probably the survival of his black band of office.

This coin, I think, shows the origin of these curious symbols of state, for the fillet was the emblem of imperial authority, and as such had been the diadem of the Roman emperors, whereas crowns were but the minor regalia of kings. When Edgar ascended the throne and for the first time peacefully united all the kingdoms in England under one crown and claimed sovereignty over the Welsh and Scots, he assumed the title of "Emperor of Albion and King of the English and all the nations and islands around." Then it was that some addition or distinction to the crown as worn by his predecessors would be required by him, and this was met by adding the imperial fillet, the ends, or tassels of which were allowed to escape behind the crown, as if it was worn beneath. True, the fillet had been customary before the introduction of the crown. but that was, I think, merely incident to the

¹ Tib. A, III.

² Vesp. A, VIII.

circumstance that the designs were copies of the Roman coinage. The fact remains that although the crown had appeared on the coins of his predecessors, it had always been plain, but now when Edgar assumes the imperial title, the tassels of the fillet are appended. Thus they were the state symbols of added importance and power to the crown, and so tassels, cords and bands similarly became customary badges to designate special and state importance to other official and ceremonial head-coverings.

EDWARD THE MARTYR, A.D. 975-978.—The short reign and early death of this King, for he was only in his eighteenth year when he was slain, account for there being only two types of his money, one variety of which reproduces his father's crown. That illustrated, though slightly finer in work than the last, is but a rude outline-drawing of a bust representing a king in the ordinary Saxon costume of the day. But the brooch is now moved to the front, and this feature, with the same twisted effect which it gives to the shoulders, is depicted exactly in an illustration in the Cotton manuscripts.¹

ETHELRED II., A.D. 978-1016.—We have followed the introduction of the fillet and the crown, and now we come to the sceptre. It is curious that although it is not unusual on the Saxon sceattas, where, however, it is difficult to distinguish it from the crozier, it had not hitherto made its appearance on the penny. What the crozier is to the Bishop, the sceptre is to the King, and both symbols seem to spring from a common origin, namely, the shepherd's staff, or guiding wand of the flock, for in the Hebrew the same word *shebet* was used for both, and to a pastoral people the staff of the shepherd was the emblem of power. Probably we owe its introduction now to the influences of S. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, at the commencement of the great Danish struggle for the throne, as a symbol that "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah."² It is noteworthy that of the many types of this reign the sceptre only appears on two,³ and both these bear a

¹ Cotton MS. Claud, B. 4.

² Genesis xlix, 10.

³ I, of course, discard the mule variations.

pecially religious device on the reverse, namely that presently described, and the word **ERVX**. The latter is the later type and may refer to the text, "Having made *peace* through the blood of his *cross*,"¹ because in the following reign the word **PACX** is substituted for **ERVX**, and is from time to time repeated as **PAX** and **PAXS** until the reign of Henry I. It is consistent also, that with the reverse illustrated the sceptre should be surmounted by a cross, but when the word **ERVX** is used on the reverse, the cross is replaced by the three pellets as the emblem of the Trinity.

This coin is one of the very few in the plate on which the head is bare of insignia, and of all Ethelred's types, this and the obverse to the **ERVX** reverse are the only two so represented. If, therefore, as I have suggested, they were issued at a time of dire adversity and in the spirit of the suppliant, the King's head would naturally remain uncovered. When once established, however, such types as these would always be liable to the empty revival of the copyist without any special cause; just as the cross of division remained on our coins long after severed halfpence and farthings had been forgotten.

The reverse of this coin is of a specially supplicatory character. The hand issuing from clouds below a cross is emblematically the Hand of God, and it is in Benediction; so the obvious inference must be that it was an appeal for the blessing of the Almighty. It was not quite the first time that the Divine hand had appeared on our coinage, for it occurs on a scarce type of Edward the Elder, and was probably issued during his advance into Northumbria against the Danish army.

CANUTE, A.D. 1017-1035.—It is, perhaps, peculiar to the history of England that no change of dynasty since the advent of the Saxons has materially affected its currency—for the established coinage was always of a higher standard than that of the new race. The only differences we now see are slight variations of detail; the outlines are harder and the bust becomes merely stereotyped.

The war-worn Dane, almost as a matter of course, was represented in his helmet, but, again, the fillet was retained, and worn over it.

¹ Col. i, 20.

Helmets of this period were of two types, either the low and close-fitting casque as here shown, or of the conical form which some of our text-books persist in describing as "mitred," regardless of the fact that the mitre was then a mere bonnet, as seen, for example, on the coins of Ceolnoth, and did not assume the raised, or pointed shape until the second half of the twelfth century. Both these forms of helmet are depicted on the Bayeux Tapestry and in Saxon manuscripts; and they invariably have the nasal protection piece. I therefore assume that the very prominent character of the outline of the nose on this and the two following coins, is due to the narrow strip of metal which was brought down from the helmet to protect that feature.

The sceptre having been introduced in the last reign, was now brought into further prominence by extending the figure to show the arm and hand holding it. In the Danish series, the arm when shown is invariably the left. It may be that this merely arises from the circumstance of the die being cut right-handed, and so reversed on the coin; or it may, possibly, be intended to represent that a conqueror should rule with the sword in his right hand and the sceptre of peace in his left. To thus disclose the arm, the mantle is thrown back over the shoulder, and its folds are represented by the two streamers from the brooch. The arms of the Saxon nobles attending Harold's coronation are similarly depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry, and there Harold himself usually wears his mantle in this form.

On the reverse the cross is now voided to assist severance into halfpence and farthings, which, with the advance of commerce, were coming more and more into demand.

HAROLD I., A.D. 1035-1040.—We have seen that on its introduction the sceptre bore either the cross, or the three pearls representing the Trinity, and if we now compare the three coins of Canute and his two sons, we shall observe how the latter gradually emerged into the fleur-de-lys. On Canute's coin a fourth pearl is added to the staff, and on Harold's two leaves above the two detached pearls, as if to connect them with the staff as leaves and berries. But on the third coin the detached berries have disappeared and we have the early form of the

fleur-de-lys as the emblem, proper, of the Trinity, and of S. Mary. As the lily of France it was not known until the twelfth century.

The costume is more Danish in character, representing, as it does, the military hauberk of the day, a tunic upon which were stitched, in the words of a tenth century *saga*, the shining rings of battle-mail. On the coin the pellets represent the discs, or rings of metal stitched upon a leather over-garment, the origin of the later coat of mail. In the Cotton¹ and Harleian² manuscripts and the Bayeux Tapestry, the hauberks are usually represented as covered with similar circular discs resembling pellets in appearance. On the reverse, the fleur-de-lys is again shown in its transitional form.

HARTHACNUT, A.D. 1040-1042.—As this coin is an imitation of his father's, save in the small details already described, it needs no further discussion.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, A.D. 1042-1066.—Hitherto all our kings have appeared on their coins as clean shaven, but on this and several others of his types the Confessor is shown as fully bearded. These types were probably issued in the latter half of his reign, when in compliance with his real or assumed monastic character, he vowed to grow his beard as a penance. Malmesbury describes his beard as "milk-white," and he is invariably represented on the Bayeux Tapestry as grotesquely bearded. In the same Tapestry he appears on his throne holding a sceptre, but it is with the representation of the coronation of Harold that we must compare this coin, for they are strikingly alike. Harold is seen crowned, wearing exactly similar robes, namely the mantle thrown back over the shoulders and fastened in front by a circular brooch, thus disclosing his arms and tunic. As here, too, he holds the sceptre in *his* right hand sloped over the shoulder, whereas the orb is held in the left hand clear of the body and in line with the neck, exactly as on the coin before us. The only differences between the two are that in the Tapestry the sceptre is more floriated, and the crown has not the arches which now appear on the coinage.

¹ Nero, C. 4.

² Y. 6.

If we refer to the plate generally we cannot but remark the constant uniformity in size and appearance of the penny from its introduction in the eighth century until, at least, the reign of Henry III. in the thirteenth. But during the reign of the Confessor an experiment seems to have been tried of lessening the diameter and increasing the thickness, probably to strengthen the coin, for we know that later merchants constantly complained that the money was broken or chipped in circulation. The coins, however, were probably found to be unpopular from their small size and the old style was reinstated. One of these small pennies is here shown. It is from the collection of Mr. Carlyon-Britton.



SMALL AND THICK EXPERIMENTAL PENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

HAROLD II., 1066.—In the Tapestry, Harold, and indeed all the Saxons are distinguished by thin but long moustaches, whereas the Normans are clean shaven, and in no instance, either before or after his accession, is Harold represented as bearded. It was, however, of Norman work, and it is quite possible that from the time he put forth his claim to the crown he commenced to allow his beard to grow in imitation of his predecessor. Hence he is so presented upon his coins, and although not definite in our illustration most of his other pennies clearly show that the thin long moustache, so characteristic to his portrait wherever it occurs in the Tapestry, was retained. It will be noticed that the crown is now jewelled, and it has been so continued ever since.

The reverse bears the plain, and in this case almost cynical, word **PAX** across the field. This, as explained under Ethelred II., would be chosen as the device when from the very commencement of his reign he was threatened with the Danish invasion under Harold Hardrada, which terminated in the decisive battle of Stamford Bridge.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, A.D. 1066-1087.¹—The coinage of England passed through the Conquest without break or change, and there is consequently little on this coin requiring notice. If we are to trust to the Tapestry, we must assume that when the Normans came to England they were clean shaven, but the prevalent Saxon fashion at that time of wearing the moustache seems to have gradually influenced them, for though William is usually clean shaven in this, his second type, the moustache appears on his fourth and continues on most of the subsequent Norman series.

WILLIAM RUFUS, A.D. 1087-1100.¹—Just as the crown and, as I urge, the fillet were the royal insignia of England, so was the sword the ducal badge of Normandy. Here for the first time all three are represented on the penny, for, though the sword had already appeared on a type of William I., the fillet seems to have been omitted from it. Although the sword looks small in comparison with the weapon as we know it, and some of the specimens in the Tapestry certainly are larger in proportion, it was probably of the average size in actual use, for the difficulties of tempering metal were such, that early sword blades were often not more than eighteen inches in length. Indeed, anything unusual in the size of a sword earned for it the distinction of a mystic name, and this even as late as "Curtana," the Confessor's blunt sword of state.²

In addition to the shaven appearance of the Normans, the Tapestry discloses a very extraordinary fashion. Duke William and his followers wear their hair in front as far as the ears, but the back of the head from the crown to the neck is clean shaven. This is, of course, only shown in profile and when the helmet is not worn. There are three profile types of the pennies of William I. and II. yet, although the tassels of the fillet are there, not a single hair is shown at the back of the head. If the coin before us is compared with that of Harold II.

¹ For detailed particulars of the coinage of these two reigns I would refer readers to Mr. Carlyon-Britton's "Numismatic History of the Reigns of William I. and II.," *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ii *et seq.*

² I refer to this subject in "Buried Treasure," *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. i, p. 14.

I think the difference in this respect will be observed, although I do not remember that this curious omission has been previously noticed. On the reverse it will be seen that the fleur-de-lys, which has hitherto been represented by two leaves and a central berry, now assumes its modern form.

HENRY I., A.D. 1100-1135.—When treating the coins of this King it was for this type alone that I ventured to claim any pretensions to portraiture,¹ for although, perhaps, not an actual portrait of Henry it very accurately represents the King in his state attire. At the date of its issue long hair was again the fashion amongst the nobility, for Orderic describes how William Louvel disguised himself as a yokel by cropping his locks so that he might pass through the enemy's lines. It will be noticed that on the coin before us the hair is gathered into a queue, and on other specimens of the type this is more marked. Being in profile, only one queue is shown, but as appears by Henry's effigy at Rochester, and so far as the fashion was concerned by contemporary ivory chessmen in the British Museum, there was one over each shoulder. The robes are richly embroidered and have assumed a more modern form, for the brooch and custom of fastening over the shoulder have now disappeared.

STEPHEN, A.D. 1135-1154.—This coin was issued at York in commemoration of the victory over the Scots at the Battle of the Standard. The battle was so named because it was fought under the banners of SS. Peter of York, John of Beverley, Wilfred of Ripon and Cuthbert of Durham. A manuscript illustration of these standards shows that of St. Peter as identical with the pennant on the coins of this type. The pearls round the neck represent a collar, and are not, as is so generally stated, indications of armour; for the bosses or rivets of it, which they are supposed to be, only came in with plate armour in the fourteenth century.

The reverse design seems to have become one of our most popular ecclesiastical designs in Norman and mediæval times. It is

¹ "A Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I.," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1900, p. 88.

reproduced with every detail as one of the central bosses of the groined roof of the Norman Chapel in the Keep at Conisborough, and its variants are seen as designs for early tiles at Malvern, Tewkesbury, Dale and other Abbeys.

The substitution of ornaments on this coin for the usual reverse legend is explained by the circumstance that as this type was solely issued from York it was unnecessary to state the fact.

HENRY II., A.D. 1154-1189.—When examined through a lens, it is difficult to believe that the decoration of the arm and shoulder does not represent plate-armour, and yet it is in date a century before anything of the kind was invented. Had armour been intended, it would have been a shirt of plain mail, which extended then from the neck to the knees, for it was now gradually shortening. The curved lines therefore on the arm are probably intended for folds of the embroidered robe, which is seen hanging loosely over the King's left shoulder. A three-quarter effect is given to the position of the head by the curious treatment of the eyes, which are formed of tiny half-moons. On effigies of both Henry I. and Stephen the beard and, more doubtfully, the moustaches were present, but it was not until the middle of the latter's reign that these were revived on the coinage. Here we see them and so they remained in fashion on the money until the reign of Edward I.

RICHARD I., A.D. 1189-1199. JOHN, A.D. 1199-1216.—These two Kings, and also their successor Henry III. during the first half of his long reign, were content to reproduce the type which was current at the date of Henry II.'s death, even continuing the name unchanged. This was not the first instance of the kind in our history, for it would seem that Edmund Ironsides during his short reign must have been content to continue Ethelred II.'s money.

Mr. Shirley Fox has recently demonstrated that the dies of this period, at least, were not cut, or sunk by a graver but punched; and he ingeniously proved that the whole of the legend and device on the

die for the corresponding coin of Henry III. was actually fabricated by the use of only eleven minute punches. Thus, even in those days, art was ousted by methods of mechanism, of haste in production and, shall we say, of barbarism.

HENRY III., A.D. 1216-1272.—This is one of his later types, and is noticeable for the circumstance that the numerical denomination of the King is now added to his title, viz., III.

On the reverse, for the first time, the central cross is extended to the edge of the coin. This, as is recorded by the contemporary chroniclers, was to expose the practice of clipping then prevalent. It will be remarked that the old custom of grouping pellets in the mystic ecclesiastical number of three, previously referred to under Offa, is again in evidence.

HENRY VIII.—WILLIAM AND MARY.—As we now enter the Renaissance and modern schools of art, my task is drawing to a close, for I can safely refer those who are interested in the subject to Miss Farquhar's monograph, on the *Portraiture of our Tudor and Stuart Monarchs on their Coins and Medals*.¹

EDWARD VII.—In conclusion I must say a word or two on the present Maundy penny. The portrait, as a work of art, is almost everything one could wish, and as a likeness is excellent. Yet both it and the legend suffer from overcrowding for it is too large for the coin. But for this latter circumstance and the eccentric **E**s and **F**s in the legend, the obverse of the coin would compare favourably with that of any in circulation.

But the reverse is not happy in its design. The figure **1** is voided, why I do not know, which gives it a scratchy appearance, and it is not well formed, being cut off at the top and bottom by a line neither mathematically straight nor even in thickness. Why the figure **1** as representing the modest penny should be crowned I know not, unless it be to stamp it as Maundy money, a most inappropriate distinction when

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vols. iv and v.

we consider the meaning of that custom. True, this is not an innovation, but the crown probably survived from its originally correct position over the royal arms. The whole is surrounded by a wreath in imitation of a Roman reverse which signified the laurel garland of Victory, Maundy notwithstanding. Nevertheless as a whole the piece is pleasing, and, perhaps, perfection is but a myth.

In this silver penny of the twentieth century we can trace the conservatism of our coinage. It will be seen that the beaded edge of Offa's coin of the eighth century has been retained for eleven and a half centuries throughout the entire series, and is still with us on this little piece. The colons, or two pellets, separating the words of the legend before us, date back consistently to the time of Henry I. and occasionally appear on the Saxon series, as, for example, on the penny of Harold II., and even, in an involved form, on that of Offa. The lettering itself has passed through little change, and to-day we have much finer art and workmanship on the obverse than on the reverse a distinction common to every coin on the plate.

LEGENDS ON THE COINS OF THE PLATE.

1. *Obverse*.—••⊙••FFA/•REX

Reverse.—••EA•/•D••/•HV•/•N••

2. + BEORHƿVLF REX

+ ••M•OH••H••A••

3. + BVRĠRE/D REX

EANDRED MƿN/ETƿ

4. ƿELFR/ED REX

Large monogram of Londonia.

5. + EADVVEARD REX

VVLF/RED MO

6. + ƿEDELSTƿN RE+

+ BVRDEL•MO NORÐƿIC Norwich.

7. + EƿDMVND RE+

+ FREDARD MONEIT

8. EADRED RE+
+ FARMAN MONE
9. + EADGAR REX
+ HILTINE MONETA LVN London.
10. + EADHEARD REX ANGLOX
+ REGENVL F M—O PIN. Winchester.
11. + ADELRED REX ANGLOX
+ LEFSIGE M—O GLEAP Gloucester.
12. + ENVT/.REC+ :
+ BVREPINE ON PELI Wallingford.
13. + HARO/LD RECX
+ PV/LFP/INE O/GRX Cambridge.
14. + HARO/LIVT R :
+ BOGA ON TANTVNE Taunton.
15. + EADPARD REX
+ HEADPEVL F ON PI Worcester.
16. + HAROLD REX ANGL :
+ GARVL F ON PIHRE Worcester.
17. * PILLEMVS REX I
* PVLEGAT ON GLE Gloucester.
18. * PILLELMREX
* SEPINE ON HMTVI Southampton.
19. * HENRICVS R :
* ALDPINE : ON : SEFT : Shaftesbury.
20. * STIEFNER
Ornaments instead of letters.
21. * HENRI REX ANGL
* LOUBRARD : ON : STAF : Stafford.
22. HENRICVS R/EX
* TOMTS·ON RVLT Rhuddlan.
23. HENRICVS REX
* DAVI · ON · EVERW York.
24. * HENRICVS/RAX/III'
HEI/RI O/N LV/NE London.

25. H D G ROSA SINE SPINA
CIVI/TAS/LON/DON
26. E D G ROSA SINE SPINA, mint-mark coronet.
CIVI/TAS LON/DON
27. *CAROLVS·D·G·MA·B·F·ET·HI·REX, mint-mark
plume.
*IVSTITIA·THRONVM·FIRMAT.
28. GVLIELMVS·ET·MARIA·D·G.
1690 MAG·BR·FR·ET·HIB·REX·ET·REGINA.
29. EDWARDVS VII· D· G· BRITT· OMN· REX F· D·
IND· IMP· 1904

- Page 365. XAEDLZTAN RE M+ Y.
PVLISIO, retrograde.
- " 373. + · EDPARD R ·
+ ÆLFPINE ONIC : Chichester.

Numbers 1 to 21 are from the cabinet of Mr. Carlyon-Britton ;
numbers 22 to 24, from that of Mr. Lawrence ; number 25 is
supplied by Messrs. W. S. Lincoln and Son ; and numbers
26 to 29 by Messrs. Spink and Son, Ltd.

THE ANGLO-SAXON COMPUTATION OF HISTORIC TIME IN THE NINTH CENTURY.

BY ALFRED ANSCOMBE, F.R.HIST.SOC., *Hon. Secretary.*

(Continued.)

CHAPTER III. THE CIVIL DAY OR FERIA.

§ i. *The Definition of the Term.*

THE day on which there was cessation of public and private business in ancient Rome was called *feriae*. This is a plural form with singular meaning, and it is in agreement with that rule of the Latin grammarians which required words denoting a single day, such as *Kalendae*, *Nonae*, *Idūs*, and *Nundinae*, to assume the plural form.^a This rule was still observed in the early part of the third century, and we find Tertullian, who died *ca.* A.D. 217, referring in his *De Jejuniis*, cap. ii., to Wednesday and Friday as *feriae quartae* and *feriae sextae*, respectively.^b In the "Marmor Maffeanum,"^c at *a.d. xvi. Kal. Ianuarias*, we may read—
"G | SAT |

FERIAE,
SATVRN

" wherein G is the ferial letter and indicates the relative place of the Day of the Saturnalia in the nundinal period, or Roman week.

^a Cf. also *octabas*, "the octave"; and *Êastre*, which is always plural in the Chronicles. Plummer, *Glossary*, i., 327; and cf. below, § *ui.*, note g.

^b Migne, *Patrologia*, II., col. 956.

^c Cf. *infra*, § *xii.*

§ ii. *The Course of the Feria.*

The Roman civil day, which eventually became known as *feria*, began and ended at midnight.^a It is clear, therefore, that the term *feria* should never be used to denote any day which does not begin and end at the same hour as the Roman *dies civilis*. This rule is not observed, however, and the word *feria* frequently usurps the place of *dies*, the ecclesiastical, or computistical day; cf. § vi., note g, iii. On the other hand, we find *dies* usurping the place of *luna*: cf. St. Ambrose's remark upon the language of the command in Exodus xii., 5—"Et facies Pascha Domino Deo tuo quartodecimo die Mensis primi"—*Diem pro Lunâ dicit.*^b Similarly, and erroneously, Pseudo-Anatolius uses *uigilia* as coincident with and equivalent to *feria*, both being completed at midnight,^c according to him.

§ iii. *The Characteristics of the Feria.*

The reason why *feriae* came to be applied to any day in the week is obscure. Tarquinius Superbus appointed the observance of the *Feriae Latinae* for one day: Livy, I., lv. After the expulsion of the Tarquins the holiday was increased, first to two days, then to three, and lastly, in A.U.C. 388 (=B.C. 366), to four; Livy, VI., xlii. A marked tendency to increase the number of public holidays was evinced throughout the republican period. The loss of public time through holidays at length became so great that the Emperor Claudius abridged their number: Dion., LX., xvii. It is possible that the frequency of festivals and holidays led in time to any day being known by the name of *feriae*.

The *feria*, or civil day, includes portions of two nights. This is

^a "Romani a media nocte ad mediam noctem diem esse existimauerunt"; Censorinus, *De Die Natali*, scr. 238, ed. Hultsch, 1867.

^b "Romani a medio noctis in medium"; Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, cap. v., apud Migne, tome xc., col. 313 B, and *De Divisionibus Temporum*, cap. viii., *ibid.*, col. 656 B.

^c Vide *supra*, Chap. iii., § iii., note a.

^d Cap. iii., ed. Bucher, *De Doctrina Temporum*, p. 443.

a great disadvantage, for we never know how to describe the first nocturnal portion properly. It is true the moderns say 1 o'clock in the morning of such and such a day, and the like, and the phrase suffices, by convention. But it is known to be quite incorrect during the greater part of the year. For this reason I have recommended the use of the Scottish word "forenight" to distinguish the end of the civil day between dusk and midnight.^a

The correct reduction of Old-English diurnal data depends on our knowledge of the different methods of ferial computation adopted by the computists of the periods comprised under that term. It might be expected that prominent scholars when engaged in chronological speculation would avail themselves of the notes of time that the week-day and the calendar date, when conjoined, so frequently afford. But ferial computation is neglected, and investigators, in some cases, appear to be regardless, and in others, ignorant of the names of the days of the week. *E.g.*, (a) one of the most distinguished of English scholars, when translating an important hagiographical work, has rendered *primâ feriâ* by "on the first holiday," instead of "on Sunday"; (b) St. Wilfrid's biographer and contemporary dated his death *quintâ feriâ*, *i.e.*, "on Thursday"; Mr. Plummer, however, when computing the date of the obit, *v. Bede*, ii., 328, quoted, but disregarded this ferial datum, and inclined to October 12th, 709, which fell on a Saturday, *i.e.*, *septimâ feriâ*; (c) Mr. W. H. Stevenson at one time seemed desirous of abolishing the last-named datum altogether, for in the *Athenæum* of March 19th, 1898, p. 373, col. 2, at foot, he wrote against my "blunder of calling Saturday *septima feriâ*."^b With this dictum of Mr. Steven-

^a *Vide supra*, Chap. iii., § *ui*. The phrase "prima hora noctis" of Bede, "H.E.," II., xii., p. 126, is rendered "wæs foreweard niht" in Alfred's translation. Here *foreweard*, literally rendered, means "first," and it is reflected by the Scottish "forenight," "evening": Glossary to the *Stickit Minister*, by S. R. Crockett, 11th ed. 1895. p. 60, l. 10. The word "forenight" might be adopted with advantage to indicate the period of time between vespers and midnight. Similarly, I would apply the phrase "matutine period" to the hours of darkness falling between midnight and *diluculum*, or dawn.

^b The most curious blunder of all is that of the xviith, xviiith, and earlier sixth centuries in England. The Sabbath, *Sabbatum*, was supposed to be Sunday. I do not refer to illiterate people, who still believe that to be the case, but to scholars. *E.g.*,

son's contrast what the interpolator of Bede's letter to Wicrêd said of Saturday, March 29th, 777 :^e "Secundo anno post hunc [*sc.* post A.D. 776].....septima feria erit luna xiiii^a, IV. Kal. April..." When the term *feria* is used aright it is restricted to civil computation.

¶ The grouping of the *Feriae*.

The *feriae* are grouped into: *a*, the period ending with the *Nundinae*; *b*, the civil week, or *Septimana*; *c*, the Julian calendar month; and *d*, the Julian year.

§ iiiii. The *Nundinal* period, or Roman week.

I have already dealt with the ratio of the *Nundinae*, or ninth day, according to Latin idiom, which is the eighth according to ours; *v. supra*, chap. i., § iii., ¶ b. The *Nundinae*, which word, as I explained just now, is an idiomatic plural with a singular meaning, are connoted in the Roman calendar by one of the letters B, C, D, E, F, G, H.^a The seven days between two *nundinae* are respectively distinguished by any one of the other letters, A to H. It was considered unlucky for the year to begin on a *nundinae*, or for the *nundinae* to coincide with the *Nonae*. Consequently, as the letter A marked the first day of the Roman year, and as the pontiffs were accustomed to intercalate specially to avoid these concurrences, it would seem that the day of the *nundinae* was never connoted by the letter A. The observance of the *Nundinae* was transferred to Sunday by the Emperor Constantine the Great, in A.D. 321. But the connotation in the calendar of the eight

"The [word] Sabbath seems to be used both for Saturday and Sunday. There is in the 'Concordia Regularum,' p. 89, a service for *sabbato sancto* [*i.e.*, Holy Saturday, the Vigil of Easter-Day], and another for *die sancto paschae* [*i.e.*, Easter-day itself]. Yet I would not positively affirm that both the services do not relate to the same day. The translators of the Monastic Rules always render Sabbath by Saturday. *Solvat Oedipus*." See *British Monachism*, by T. D. Fosbrooke, M.A., F.A.S. Lond., 1802, p. 36, note †. Similarly we find Benjamin Thorpe pointing out in a footnote on p. 141 of his edition of Florence of Worcester, "*sabbato*. In 988 *xiv. Kal. Jun.* fell on a Saturday; but, a. 1012 (p. 165), Florence renders 'Saternes-dæg,' by *Sabbatum*."

^e *Vide Patres Ecclesiae Anglicani*, ed. Giles, 1843, I., 163-4.

^a *Cf. infra*, § xii.

days of the Roman week with letters of the alphabet was continued to, at least, A.D. 382^b, and this pagan custom of using a letter to distinguish the same relative day throughout the year has been retained by Christian computists down to the present time. Some makers of calendars, it is true, employed the seven-lettered word "Angelus"^c for this purpose; but the great majority of them used the first group of seven letters in the Roman alphabet.

§ u. *The Civil Week, or Septimana.*

The "septimana," as its name implies, consisted of *septem mana*, i.e., seven mornings (sing. *mane*). The word *mane* is indeclinable in classical Latin. But *septimana*, treated as a feminine noun in the singular number, appears in the Code of Theodosius, which was issued in A.D. 438. The introduction among the Romans of the Egyptian or Jewish week of seven days, took place towards the close of the second century; though Dion Cassius can hardly be quite correct when he says that it prevailed universally in his time, *sc. ca.* A.D. 200.^a Because, first, the celebration of the *nundinae* was not abrogated till the time of Constantine, as we have already observed; and, second, the diurnal lettering of the eight days from *nundinae* to *nundinae* was kept up, as I have already pointed out, till at least A.D. 382; *cf. infra*, § xii.

§ ui. *The names of the Days of the Septimana, i.e., of the Feriae.*

It is believed that Pope Silvester, who was Bishop of Rome from A.D. 314 to 336, published an injunction addressed to the Roman clergy bidding them to avoid calling the days of the week by the names given

^b Vide Mommsen's edition of the *Chronographus anni cccliiii.*, in "Chronica Minora," i., 1892. The style is *annus Passionis*; *cf. Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, Bd. vi., 1908, p. 389.

^c E.g., in King Athelstan's Calendar, Cotton MS. *Galba A xviii.*; ed. Hampson, *Antient Calendars*, i., 397-420. In the facsimile, vol. ii., frontispiece, the *a* is minuscule.

^a xxxvii., 18, cited by Adam, *Roman Antiquities*, ed. 9, 1822, p. 303.

to them by contemporary pagans.^a According to Bede, Silvester directed them to call the first day of the week *Dies Dominicus*,^b i.e., the day belonging to the Lord Jesus Christ; to retain the word "*Sabbatum*," because it was used in the Scriptures; and to call each intervening day *feria*, in the singular number, and to distinguish it by its number of position.^c Professor Rühl has doubts about the authenticity of this statement of Bede's^d; but, as we have just now observed, the nundinal week was abolished by Constantine during Silvester's pontificate, and that fact lends support to Bede's statement.

The word *feria* occurs in the singular number as early as c. 375, in the writings of the poet Rufius Festus Avienus, a native of Etruria, and a Roman citizen, who held proconsular offices in A.D. 366 and 372. St. Ambrose of Milan, too, in his *Epistola de Festo Paschali*,^e scr. A.D. 381, uses *feria* in the singular number, and also writes "*dies Sabbati*," "*dies Dominicus*." In the *Origines* of Isidore, Bishop of Seville, who died ca. 640, we are told (V., xxx., 9) that according to ecclesiastical custom ("*ritus ecclesiasticus*"), the days of the week from Monday to Friday were called *feria*, and were distinguished as *secunda*, *tertia*, *quarta*, *quinta*, and *sexta feria*.

According to Dr. Grotefend the phrases *prima feria* and *septima feria* seldom occur in the dates given by continental computists.^f The datum *prima feria* is certainly not so common in insular use as *dies dominicus*. *Septima feria* occurs pretty frequently, however, and both phrases are found in good authors. It must be remembered, also, that

^a "Ferias uero habere clerum primus Papa Sylvester edocuit cui Deo soli uacanti nunquam militiam uel negociationem liceat exercere mundanam, dicente Psalmographo: *Vacate et uidete quoniam ego sum Deus*"; Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, cap. viii. ap. Migne, xc., col. 330.

^b Cf. "Fui in spiritu in die dominico . . .," St. John, *Revelations* I., 10. Also in the Gospel of St. John xx., 19, 26; Acts xx., 7; and I Corinthians xvi., 2. Contrast Rühl, *Chronologie*, S. 55, nota 1, who thinks it rather doubtful whether St. John's words refer to the first day of the week.

^c See the *De Temporum Ratione*, cap. viii., apud Migne, xc., col. 330.

^d *Chronologie*, S. 58.

^e Vide Bucher, *De Doctrina Temporum*, p. 476.

^f *Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, sub voce FERIA, § 59.

the Concurrent Days (*v. infra*, § xi.) are designated by numbers from *i.*, = *prima feria*, Sunday, to *vi.*, = *sexta feria*, or Saturday. This practice is invariable, and it would naturally help to bring into vogue the custom of using the numbers of Saturday, and Sunday, instead of the names of those days. Moreover, an anonymous writer, whose little book, *De Divisionibus Temporum*,⁹ is printed by Migne among the

⁹ Among *Didascalica Spuria et Dubia*, tome xc., col. 657. We may find there: "Feria consuetudine dicitur feriae, enim et scalae, scopae, quadrigae, Thebae, plurali numero fiunt. . . . In eo die primitus dictum est—Fiat lux. Itaque PRIMA FERIA aut prima Sabbati dicatur idem est." In the *De Argumentis Lunae*, *u.s.*, col. 701, in the rule *ad feriam per dies mensis inveniendam* we get *prima feria* for Sunday. Mons. Giry is of the same opinion as Grotefend: "on l'appelait (*sc.* le Dimanche) toujours *dies Dominicus*"; *Manuel de Diplomatique*, p. 134. I append a few instances of the practice of calling Sunday *prima feria*.

i.—741: "Monasterium in Eboraca ciuitate succensum est, ix. Kal. Maii, FERIA PRIMA"; Symeon of Durham, ii., 38.

ii.—"Secundum Sylvestrum Papam PRIMA FERIA dicitur quasi prima dies"; from the *Didascalica* cited at the head of this note. The mistake made with regard to Sylvester does not invalidate the testimony to the use of the phrase "*prima feria*."

iii.—"Obiit Alcuinus xliii. kal. Iunii, FERIA PRIMA, pentecostes inlucescere die, luna vi., anno incarnationis domini dccciii. indictione xii. anno xxxvi. regnante domno Carolo; accidenti paralyti viii. Idus Maii, feria quinta, ad uesperum post solis occasum, luna xxv." In the *Codex Masciacensis* (of Massai, in the diocese of Bourges) these particulars follow the annal 796, in a hand of equal age, according to Pertz, *M.G. SS.*, tome i., p. 18. In this passage *luna sexta* should be *luna quinta*, and instead of *feria u.*, which did not begin till midnight, *quinta Sabbati* must be read. Alcuin, the most famous Englishman between the Venerable Bede and Alfred the Great, died at daybreak on Whitsunday, May 19th, 804; he had suffered a paralytic stroke on May 8, civil computation, or on May 9, the fifth day of the week (reckoning ecclesiastically), and on the 25th moon. This was Ascension Day in 804, and the calculation of Alcuin's obit presents difficulties similar to those offered by the obit of the Venerable Bede.

iiii.—Cf. "*Feria una*" (a mistaken reading of *feria i^{ma}*), *Introd.* § ii., note *g*.

With respect to *feria septima* the following passages will serve to establish the user:

i.—Cf. *supra*, for Bede's use of the phrase, § iii., text above note *b*;

ii.—We find, in the *De Argumentis Lunae* in the rule *ad feriam per dies anni inueniendam*, *septima*, with *feria* understood;

iii.—"841. vii. kal. Iul. FERIA SEPTIMA, hora quasi secunda factum est proelium in pago Antissiodoro," in *Notae historicae codicibus bibliothecae Sangallensibus adiecta*, "*M.G. SS.*," i., 70;

iiii.—SEPTIMA FERIA is found in the Calendar in the Cotton MS., *Titus D. xxvii.*, fo. 24a; Hampson, *u.s.*, ii., 205;

v.—Mons. Giry (*Manuel*, p. 134) gives an instance, without citing his authority:

treatises falsely attributed to Bede, says—"omnes autem hebdomadae dies feriae dicuntur," *i.e.*, "on the other hand all the days of the week are called *feriae*." For these reasons I consider that the objections raised by Dr. Grotefend, Professor Rühl, and some other scholars who copy these authorities, as to the use of *feria* with the proper numeral to denote Saturday and Sunday, are quite groundless.

Professor Rühl is of the opinion that *feria* ought in all circumstances to denote the working day^h; but he quotes an instance of the use of the phrase "dies feriandus" at as late a date as A.D. 1235, to indicate a day that was to be observed as a holy day.ⁱ He also seems to be unaware of the title of Item x., in the *Argumenta Paschalia*, in the "Liber de Paschate" written by Dionysius Exiguus, in A.D. 525.^k This title runs: "De die septimanae sanctae feriae paschalis," *i.e.*, "Of the day of the week of the holy Easter *feria*." In this passage we must note that *feria* cannot mean the civil, and must, therefore, mean the ecclesiastical day.

The Anglo-Saxon names of the days of the week are as follows :

					Chronicles.
<i>prima feria</i>	...	...	Sunnan-dæg	...	963, <i>A</i> .
<i>secunda feria</i>	...	...	Mōnan-dæg	...	1052, <i>C</i> .
<i>tertia feria</i>	...	...	Tiwes-dæg	...	1052, <i>C</i> (<i>ad finem</i>).
<i>quarta feria</i>	...	...	Wōdnes-dæg	...	1066, <i>C</i> .
<i>quinta feria</i>	...	...	þunres-dæg	...	1053, <i>C</i> .
<i>sexta feria</i>	...	...	Frīge-dæg	...	1106, <i>E</i> .
<i>septima feria</i>	...	...	Sæternes-dæg	...	1012, <i>E</i> .

The ancient Greco-Egyptian week was of seven days. It began on Saturday, and so early as about the year 27 B.C. we find "dies Saturni" used by the Roman poet Tibullus, who is said to have copied

"FERIA SEPTIMA post *Letare Hierusalem*," *i.e.*, after the fourth Sunday in Lent, which has that name and introit.

^h See *Chronologie*, § 58; "Feria soll unter allen Umständen den Werkeltag bezeichnen": "in any case *feria* ought to signify the working day." We must supply "exclusively" here, whereupon it will become clear that Professor Rühl has forgotten that all the days, except the seventh, are, or were, working days.

ⁱ See *u.s.*, § 58, nota 2.

^k V Migne, "*Patrologia*," lxxvii., col. 503, *Argumentum x*.

the Alexandrian poets in his elegies. The order of the planets that dominated the nomenclature of the days of the week is as follows, where the Greek numerals are taken from Dion Cassius, who describes the method of allotment; XXXVII. xviii.¹ α , Saturn; β , Jupiter; γ , Mars; δ , Sol; ϵ , Venus; ζ , Mercury; ξ , Luna. The first hour of Saturday was devoted to Saturn—whence its name. The second to Jove, the third to Mars, the fourth to Sol, the fifth to Venus, the sixth to Mercury, and the seventh to Luna, and so on, from Saturn again. The last hour of Saturday fell to Mars, after which we get *Solis hora* the first of *Dies Solis*, *Sunnan dæg*. That this is correct may be seen by applying the rule: multiply the number of the preceding day by 24, add 1, and divide by 7: the remainder indicates the planet dominating the day. *E.g.*—Monday, *Dies Lunae*, is the third day. Hence—
$$\frac{(24 \times 2) + 1}{7} = 7 \text{ remainder.}$$

The seventh hour was devoted to Luna. Wednesday is the fifth day:
$$\frac{(24 \times 4) + 1}{7} = 6 \text{ remainder.}$$

The sixth hour belonged to Mercury.

The pagan Roman names of the week-days were perpetuated by the Anglo-Saxons,^m with whom “*Sunnan dæg*,” and “*Mōnan dæg*,” are exact renderings of the *Solis Dies*, and *Lunae Dies*, of the Romans under the empire.

“*Tīwes*” = *Martis*; “*Wōdnes*” = *Mercuri* (gen.); “*Þunres*” = *Jovis*; “*Frīge*” = *Veneris*; and “*Sæternes*” = *Saturni*.

§ vii. *The Julian and Augustan months.*

The alterations made by the Emperor Augustus in the Roman Calendar were very slight, and no prominent writer, with the exception of Ammianus Marcellinus, a soldier and historian of the fourth century, has attributed the Calendar to him.^a It is generally asserted that

¹ Cf. Rühl, *Chronologie*, SS. 51, 52 and Alexander Neckam, abbot of Cirencester (†1217), *De Naturis Rerum*, cap. x., “R.B. SS.,” No. 34, 1863, p. 46.

^m They are still used by the Welsh who speak their mother tongue: *e.g.*, *Dydd Sŷl*, *D. Llŷn*, *D. Mawrth*, *D. Mercher*, *D. Iau*, *D. Gwener*, and *Dydd Sadwrn*.

^a Ammianus believed that it was Augustus Cæsar who put an end to the pontifical calendar; xxvi., i., 13, ed. Gardthausen, 1874, p. 65.

Julius Cæsar ordered that a twenty-ninth day should be added every four years to the month of February. In so far as the attribution of twenty-eight days to this month in common years, is concerned, the statement is disputed. Julius Cæsar, in his third consulship, A.U.C. 708 = 47, 46 B.C., corrected the confusion of the Roman republican Calendar. By a dictatorial edict he added sixty-seven days to the year and consulship then current, in order to carry the year onward to the day of the new moon next after the winter solstice. The solstice coincided, in those times, with December 25; just as the vernal equinox coincided with March 25, whereas they now fall about three days earlier. Cæsar had decided that the only intercalation should be one day in February, once in each *quadriennium*.^b The year of Rome, 709, for which he was making these dispositions, was to be a leap year (it is equated by 45 B.C.), but it is uncertain how the 366 days allotted to it were grouped.

In Julius Cæsar's time the two months between *Junius* and *September* were called "Quintilis" and "Sextilis" respectively. "Junius," at an early date under the kings, may have been *Quartilis*, and the change may have been made in honour of L. Junius Brutus, just as the change of Quintilis to "Julius" was made by Augustus in honour of C. Julius Cæsar. In the year 8 B.C. the emperor allowed the name of *Sextilis* to be changed to *Augustus* in his own honour.

As this change was made during the lifetime of Augustus, it was thought proper to increase the number of days that Julius Cæsar is supposed to have allotted to *Sextilis*, by one. The reports made by modern computists about these changes are very conflicting. Dr. Butcher, late Bishop of Meath, has shown incidentally that those computists cannot be right who maintain that Julius Cæsar allotted twenty-nine days to the month of February in common years. He points out that if that were correct the intercalation, in order to follow the twenty-third day of the month of thirty days immediately, must have been made at *VII. Kal. Mart.* If it could be proved that Macrobius, who wrote *ca.* 420, was correct when he said that Cæsar

^b Cf. *supra*, *Introd.*, § iii.

did not interfere with the number, viz., $23 + 5$ days, allotted by the pagan pontiffs to Februarius, then the dating of the intercalation would be conclusive. But, as Prof. Rühl says, it does not seem possible to determine the number of days allotted to the several months of the first Julian year. The weight of authority inclines to the number twenty-eight in common years.^c

§ *iiii.* *The Julian Intercalation.*

At a very remote date, it was noticed, at the period of the longest day, that is to say, at the period when the maximum interval of time occurs between sunrise and sunset, that the shadow of the gnomon, at midday, remained of the same length for two or three days. Similar phenomena were observed in winter, at the period of the shortest natural day. These phenomena were accounted for by the supposition that the sun stood still at these particular times. These checks in the apparent course of the sun were eventually recognized as being regularly recurrent. They became known, respectively, as the summer solstice and the winter solstice. They indicated the existence, and helped, also, to determine the position of two other points, severally midway between their own recurrent positions. At these two points the natural day and the night-season were adjudged to be equal in duration. The four positions occupied by the sun in his apparent course through the terrestrial heavens are—the summer solstice, the autumnal equinox, the winter solstice, and the vernal equinox.^d These

^c *E.g.*, "Jules César avait ajouté dans le même intervalle [de quatre ans] un vingt-neuvième jour au mois de février"; the "*Art de Vérifier les Dates*," *Dissertation sur les Dates*, § xi., p. 50. Prof. Rühl, also, *Chronologie*, S. 14, says: "Die Gesichtspunkte, nach welchen Caesar die Tage des Jahres auf die einzelnen Monate verteilte, sind nicht durchweg erkennbar; er gab aber dem Januarius 31 Tage; dem Februarius 28, . . .," and so on. For Dr. Butcher's conclusion *vide The Ecclesiastical Calendar: Its Theory and Construction*, by Samuel Butcher, D.D., Dublin, 1877, p. 17, note.

^d In Anglo-Saxon the solstice and the equinox are called "sunnanstæde" and "erniht," respectively. Prof. Rühl, *u.s.*, S. 16, remarks: "Die Jahrpunkte, d.h. die Zeiten, in denen die Sonne auf ihrer Bahn den Aequator schneidet, oder sich am weitesten von ihm entfernt, welche also die Jahreszeiten begrenzen, legte Caesar nicht genau in Übereinstimmung mit seiner Theorie, aber im Anschluss an das alte italische Bauernjahr, auf *viii. Kal. April.*, *viii. Kal. Quint.*, *viii. Kal. Oct.*, und *viii. Kal. Ian.*," and he refers to Soltau, *Römische Chronologie*, 1889, S. 150.

points in the sun's course are of very great importance, and the ability to fix their position correctly rendered it easy to count the days from solstice to equinox, and from equinox to solstice again. In this way a fairly accurate notion of the course of the revolving year was eventually acquired, and a tabular year was constructed to fit these points.

This year was called the receding year, *annus vagus*, because, owing to the neglect of the six hours' difference between the 365 days allotted to it, and its actual duration, it commenced one day earlier every four years than it should. The ultimate result of this neglect was that, in about fifteen hundred years, the *caput anni*, or first day of this wandering year, had receded through all the seasons. In order to remedy this defect Sosigenes allowed these odd hours to accumulate until they made one whole day, and he intercalated that day at *ante diem VI. Kalendas Martias*, every four years. This day was styled *a.d. bissextum Kal. Mart.*, and the year in which it was intercalated was called "annus bissextilis," or leap-year. In classical Latin the *s* of *bis* is dropped. It is to be remembered that the Church of Rome still intercalates at the same place in the Calendar as the Romans of the Empire did, namely, at the day after the 23rd of February, and not at the 29th of that month.

The Anglo-Saxons called the *Bissextus* "Bises," and their views of the position of the day in the calendar were as follows :

"Bissextō man sceal sȳmle healdan ær þam fif ȳtemestan [dagum] þæs monþes *ond* on þone æftran dæg healde man þone mæssan dæg sē Mathia."

From the inedited eleventh-century computistical treatise in the Cotton codex, *Caligula A. XV.*, fo. 127 vº.

"The *bissextus* is always to be observed before the five last days of the month [of February], and St. Matthias' Day is kept on the day after."

The direction to keep St. Matthias' Day on February 25th, in leap year, is quite clear. The reason for this is that the day that followed the 23rd day of the month was rightly regarded in medieval times as the intercalated day. Hopton, in his *Concordancy*, printed in 1635, quotes the following rhyming couplet :

"Bissextum sextæ Martis tenuere calendæ—

Posteriore die celebrantur festa Mathiæ."

"The sixth calends of March kept the bissextus—on the following day the Feast of Mathias is celebrated."

For earlier times, again, we may refer to the eleventh-century *Leofric Missal*, ed. Warren, p. 21 :

"*Inquirendum est quare dicitur bissexus.* Ipse dies dicitur bissexus, duo dies ebdomadis contra unum diem mensis, et contra unum diem lunę, quasi unus dies reputantur; ut est, verbi gratia, VI. Kalendas hodie, VI. Kalendas cras, non primus numeratur sed retro exigitur."

The last clause bids us count backwards, and when we do so we say *V. Kal. Mart.*, *VI. Kal. Mart.*, *Bissext Kal. Mart.*, which allots the bissextus to the day after February 23rd. A Cornelius Celsus, who wrote in the reign of Tiberius, *ca.* A.D. 35, says: "... id biduum pro uno die habetur: sed posterior die intercalatur, non prior."^b

Celsus regarded the *biduum* from the point of view of the enumerator, and called that day "posterior," which he counted second; so, too, did the eleventh-century writer quoted above from the *Leofric Missal*. The versifier quoted by Hopton counted the days of the *biduum* in the order of their occurrence in time. In practice, therefore, there was no difference, and it is not necessary to refer to the length of the month of February in republican times, in order to prove that the day intercalated in the classical and medieval periods, must have come between the five days and the 23rd day, which was the last day of the ancient Latin month. Moreover, why should intercalation immediately after February 23rd affect celebration on February 25th, *i.e.*, *V. Kal. Mart.*?

But Dr. Grotefend in his *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung*, p. 14, remarks^c:

"Im Februar eines Schaltjahres schiebt sich (unserer Zählung nach) hinter den *VI. Kal. Mart.* ein Schalttag, *bis VI. Kal. Mart.*, ein. Im

^b This is quoted by Eryc Puteanus in his work *De Bissexto*, cap. xii., *apud* Grævius's *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum*, 1698, tome viii., p. 448, col. 1.

^c In the *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss*, S. 50, he calendars St. Matthias's Day "Febr. 24 (im Schaltjahr meist der 25)."

Mittelalter wird aber bis zum Ende des 15. Jahrh. statt dessen der 24. Febr. als Schalttag betrachtet, und der Matthiastag verschob sich auf den 25. Febr."

The view expressed first would require us to suppose that, at the period Dr. Grotefend had in mind when he was writing, the second day of the *biduum* was regarded as the intercalated one. But he gives no instances of this divergence, and the point upon which his argument seems to turn is the use of the word "posterior," which he renders by *hinter*, and thereby shows that he assumes that it was not the order of enumeration from the Kalends that was implied in that use, but the order of occurrence in time.

The Venerable Bede in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II., v., p. 90, dates Ethelbert of Kent's death on the twenty-fourth day of February, 616, and the *Annals of Salzburg*^d, and the *Annals of St. Germain's* at Paris^e, say that Ethelbert died on *feria quarta, VI. Kal. Mart.*, which equates February 24th, 616. But that day did not fall on Wednesday. That year has Sunday Letter D in January and February. This assigns February 22nd to Sunday, and the 24th day of the month to Tuesday. If the obit occurred after vespers on Tuesday, *VI. Kal. Mart.*, it may have been assigned to the following day, and the passage would seem to provide another instance of the incorrect use of *feria*!

There are some old rules entitled *Ratio Cyclorum: Canones*, which are appended in some MSS. to Bede's chronological works,^g and which read thus: "Tribus ergo locis bissextus intercalatur: primo, VI. Idus Februar.; secundo, ubi frequentissime ponitur, VI. Kal. Mart.; tertio, Nonas Mart." If the first and third of these methods were really employed, it would follow that all dates in leap-year from

^d The *Annales Iuvauenses Minores*, ed. Pertz, *Scriptores*, i., p. 87.

^e The *Annales Coenobii Sancti Germani Parisiensis*, ed. Pertz, *Scriptores*, iv., p. 1.

^f The following instances of this incorrect use of *feria* may be cited: Alcuin's obit *supra*, § vi., g. iii.; with the *Historia Abbatum auct. anon.*, p. 400, § 32. "Peruenit autem Lingonas . . . die vii. Kal. Octobr. sexta sabbati." . . . Cf. the *Historia Abbatum, auctore Beda*, § 23, p. 386, "Obiit autem vii. Kal. Octobr. die . . . feriâ sextâ."

^g See Migne *Patrologia*, tome xc., col. 881.

February 7 to March 8, exclusive of both *termini*, are rendered doubtful. But I believe that the Roman monks who were sent into Britain in A.D. 596, by Pope Gregory, regarded the prior day of the *biduum*, in order of occurrence in time, and the posterior day of it, in order of enumeration from the Kalends of March, as the intercalated day.

§ ix. *The Computation of the Bissextus.*

The computistical treatment of the Bissextus (A.S. *bises*) is directly opposed to the early directions of the Church, which prohibited Christians from regarding the *biduum* as one day. It has but one lunar day allotted to it, in order to avoid perturbing the decemnovennial calculation; and both its days are connoted by the same ferial letter, in order to secure the change in the Sunday Letter that is necessitated by the theory of the Concurrent Days. This theory will be explained later; see below § xi. The behaviour of the ferial and Sunday Letters is explained in § xiii.

§ x. *The Julian Calendar.*

The Julian Calendar consists of twelve groups of 31, 30 or 28 days, severally, called months. Four of these, namely, March, October, May and July, have 31 days each, and in all of them the Nones and the Ides fall respectively on the 7th and 15th of the month. The initial letters in these four names are combined to make the memory-word MOMJUL. This, as we have observed already, Chap. i., § iii., should always be kept in mind when computing Latin calendar dates. In all the other months the Nones and the Ides fall, respectively, on the 5th and the 13th. But all the months vary in length in the portion of the month coming after the Ides. The day after the Ides of the MOMJUL group of months is $31 + 1$ (added for the Kalends of the following month) minus 15 (the day on which the Ides fall), i.e., XVII. Kal. of the succeeding month. The other months vary as in the following table, in which there are three months with xix. Kal., four with xviii. Kal.; four with xvii. Kal., and one with xvi. Kal.

A Synopsis of the Julian Calendar.

Nones Ides	5th, 13th,	7th, 15th.	The day after the Ides.			
	Januar.....	xix.....	Kal.	Februar.	= 14.....	January.
	Februar.....	xvi.....	„	Mart.	= 14.....	February.
		Mart.....	xvii....	„	April.	=16 March.
	April.....	xviii....	„	Mai.	= 14.....	April.
		Mai.....	xvii....	„	Juni.	=16 May.
	Juni.....	xviii....	„	Juli.	= 14.....	June.
		Juli.....	xvii....	„	August.	=16 July.
	August.....	xix.....	„	Septembr.	= 14.....	August.
	Septembr.....	xviii....	„	Octobr.	= 14.....	September.
		Octobr.....	xvii....	„	Novembr.	=October.
	Novembr.....	xviii....	„	Decembr.	= 14.....	November.
	Decembr.....	xix.....	„	Januar.	= 14.....	December.

The names of the Roman calendar months are all adjectives and they agree with *mensis* (masc.) either expressed or understood. They are used attributively with the words *Kalendae*, *Nonae*, *Idūs*, and very rarely appear as possessives in correct Latin writers. For instance, "VII. Idus Maias aestatis initium," *i.e.*, "the 9th day of May is the commencement of summer," Columellas, *de Re Rustica*, XI., ii. In later times it became customary to put the name of the month in the genitive case. The words *Kalendis*, *Nonis*, and *Idibus*, are used as ablatives of time, and the adjective of the month is also put in the ablative. For instance, *Kalendis Ianuariis*, "on the 1st day of January"; *Nonis Februariis*, "on the Nones," that is to say "on the 5th of February"; *Idibus Martiis*, "on the Ides, the 15th of March." When the day stands towards these terms in relationship of numerical order, they are put in the accusative, *ante* being expressed, or understood: as *ante diem tertium Kalendas*. Here the preposition *ante* has, by a corruption of custom, quitted its proper place before *Kalendas* to stand before *diem*, which it does not govern. So entirely idiomatic is this mode of expression that it is used in dependence upon prepositions: "Consul Latinas [ferias] in ante diem tertium Idus Sextilis edixit"; *i.e.*, "the consul proclaimed the Latin holidays for the 11th of August," Livy, XLI., xvi.—"ex ante diem iii. Non. Iun. usque ad pridie Kal. Sept."

i.e., "from the 3rd of June down to the 31st of August," Cicero, *Att.* v. 17.^a Such full style as *ante diem* (or *a.d.*) *xi. Kalendas Februarias* rarely, if ever, occurs in early medieval times, and we most frequently get the simple *xi. Kal. Dec.*, or a phrase of identical construction.

The Venerable Bede's method of calendar-dating for the most part approximates in its main features to that in modern use. Quite half the dates of the calendar in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* have the numeral in the ablative case, and the name of the class in which the day is counted is put in the genitive. Many instances occur which are identical in treatment with the modern method, though not, of course, equivalent to the English idiom. For example: "on the second day before the Kalends of July" is = *tertio die Kalendarum Iuliarum*. The classical form, with the accusative, occurs at least twice: II., iii., p. 86; IV., i., p. 203. The date of Bede's Epistle to Archbishop Egbert (p. 423), viz.—"Nonas Nouembris," is quite irregular. "Prædie" also, occurs at least twice with the accusative: III., xv., p. 157; IV., xxviii., p. 277; and at least five times with the genitive.

The direct enumeration of the days of the month from the first, onward, is found at least six times in Bede: II., v., p. 90; III., ix., p. 145; III., xxvii., p. 191; IV., v., p. 215; V., viii., p. 295; and V., xxiii., p. 350. Mr. Plummer, citing Ideler, *Handbuch*, ii., 191, says that this method of counting the days, which he calls modern, was first introduced by Pope Gregory the Great. But it appears about seventy years earlier than Gregory's time, in the first paschal epistle of Dionysius Exiguus, who, for a definite purpose, calls *a.d. IX. Kal. Aprilium* "uigesimo quarto mensis Martii." Of still earlier times there is a fragment of a Gothic calendar which was written in the fourth century. In this, also, the days of the month are numbered consecutively.^b In the Byzantine Church, the direct method of enumeration was adopted in the seventh century. It appears side by side with the old way in the "Paschal Chronicle." Georgius Syncellus

^a Dr. Kennedy's *Public School Latin Grammar*, Appendix H, pp. 572, 573.

^b *Apud Mai's Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, V. i., 66, cited by Prebendary Browne, "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities," Article MONTH, p. 1315, col. 2.

in his "Chronography," *scr. circ.* 800, employed only the new reckoning. In England the older method predominated throughout Anglo-Saxon times.

The Anglo-Saxon names of the months.

In the Abingdon (Saxon) Chronicle in the Cotton MS., *Tiberius B. I.*, *scr. circa* A.D. 1050, the annals are preceded by a Menology, or Calendar, written in Anglo-Saxon verse.^c The names of the months are given in the verses, and other names appear in some instances in the margins. I give below the month-names in Latin first, then the Anglo-Saxon forms, according to Bede, "*De Natura Temporum*," cap. xv.,^d and, lastly, according to the Menology aforesaid.

Bede.			Menology.			
			Line.	Verse.		Margin.
Januarius...	Giuli	...	10	Forma mōnað	...	—
Februarius	Solmonath	...	19	Sol mōnað	...	—
Martius ...	Hredmonath	...	36	Hlȳða	...	Hræd mōnað.
Aprilis ...	Eosturmonath...	...	55	Ēaster mōnað	...	Ēaster mōnað.
Maius ...	Thrimilci	...	79	þrȳmilce	...	þrȳmylce m.
Junius ...	Lida	...	110	ærra Liða	...	Liða mōnað.
Julius ...	Lida	...	132	Iulius (only)	...	—
Augustus...	Weodmonath	...	139	Wēod mōnað	...	—
September	Halgimonth	...	167	Hālig mōnað	...	—
October ...	Winterfylleth	...	183	Winter fylleð	...	Winter filleð.
November	Blotmonath	...	186	Blōt mōnað...	...	—
December	Giuli	...	220	ærra iūla	...	Iūl mōnað.

The order of the months in the Julian Calendar is well known and invariable; but different kinds of years began at different dates, and the order in which the months were counted by those computists whose *caput anni* was not January 1 is necessarily dependent upon the date at which they began. These differences have introduced confusion and

^c *The Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, Appendix A, ed. Plummer, 1892, pp. 273-282, from MS. C, *scr. ca.* 1050.

^d Migne, *Patrologia*, xc., cap. xv., col. 356, Giles, *Patres Ecclesiae Anglicani*, vi.

obscurity into the reports of some early writers, who preferred from time to time to speak of the month by its number of position in the year they employed, instead of by its name. This particular phase of our enquiry will receive attention in Chapter vi., § *iii*.

§ *xi*. *The Concurrent Days.*

In its restricted use, the term "concur" is applied only to the day that falls with March 24th. This date, in the old calendars, is called "Sedes Concurrentium [Dierum]." The ferial letter of *a.d. ix. Kal. April.* is *f*; consequently, when the concurrent day is *i.*, *i.e.*, *prima feria*, *F* is the Sunday letter of the year from March 24th onward. If the concurrent is *ii.*, *i.e.*, *secunda feria* or Monday, *E* is the Sunday letter, because the day before Monday, March 24th, *f*, is a Sunday, and is March 23rd, *e*. Similarly, if the concurrent is *vi.*, *i.e.*, *sexta feria*, Friday (6, 7, 1 = *f*, *g*, *A*), *A* is the Sunday letter, because the second day after Friday, March 24th, *f*, is a Sunday and is March 26th, *a*.

The table linking the Sunday letters with the concurrent days will be found quite easy to remember if we observe that the order is retrograde, and if we memorize the first three letters of it (*sc.*, *F E D*):

Sunday Letters:	...	...	...	<i>F.</i>	<i>E.</i>	<i>D.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>B.</i>	<i>A.</i>	<i>G.</i>
Concurrent Days:	...	...	...	<i>i.</i>	<i>ii.</i>	<i>iii.</i>	<i>iiii.</i>	<i>v.</i>	<i>vi.</i>	<i>vii.</i>
<i>Feria</i> of January 1st (common years):	<i>iii.</i>	<i>iiii.</i>	<i>u.</i>	<i>ui.</i>	<i>uui.</i>	<i>i.</i>	<i>ii.</i>			
" " " (leap years):	<i>ii.</i>	<i>iii.</i>	<i>iiii.</i>	<i>u.</i>	<i>ui.</i>	<i>uui.</i>	<i>i.</i>			

Bede gives the rule for computing the concurrent day as follows:^a

"Item. Si uelimus scire adiectiones solis, id est concurrentes septimanae dies, sumere annos Domini, iubet Dionysius, et addita quarta parte, *iiii.* insuper regulares semper adicere docet; quia nimirum *v.* erant concurrentes anno quo natus est Dominus, ut et computandi fixa series procurrare posset, necesse habeat computator *iiii.* quae praecesserunt annectere; ac sic tandem per *vii.* partiri."

^a *De Ratione Temporum*, cap. *xluii.*, *u.s.*, *vi.*, 241.

This rule is perfectly simple : $\frac{\text{A.D.} + \frac{\text{A.D.}}{4} + 4}{7}$ = the number of the

Concurrent Day. Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, p. 30, lines 1 to 5, wrongly explains the Concurrent Days and gives no rule for computing them. Dr. Grotefend in *Taschenbuch*, 1898, p. 7, explains the theory of the Concurrent Days correctly, but is equally remiss in omitting to give the rule for finding them. Professor Rühl, *Chronologie*, 1897, p. 145, does give a rule, but it is roundabout and incorrect. He says :—

“ . . . ergibt sich für den abendländischen Sonnenzirkel folgende Regel: man addiert 9 zu der Jahreszahl und dividiert die erhaltene Summe durch 4. Den Quotienten addiert man unter Vernachlässigung des Restes zu der um 9 vermehrten Jahreszahl; dividiert man dann die erhaltene Summe durch 7, so ist der verbleibende Rest die Concurrents. Bleibt kein Rest, so ist die Concurrents = 7.”

If we apply this rule to A.D. 831, we get vii. as the Concurrent, and on turning to Professor Rühl's, p. 142, § 19, we find a table which appears to authorize the assertion that the S.L. connoting vii. is E. But the Concurrent of 831 and the Sunday letter of that year are vi., and A, respectively, and the rule and the table given by Rühl are both erroneous. The reason of the error in the table is quite clear: Professor Rühl has given the Sunday letters in the direct order in which they occur in the alphabet: whereas their true cyclic order is retrograde. As for the supposed rule, that results from confusion of the Byzantine *Annus Mundi* with the A.D., in so far as the computation of the Concurrent Day is concerned.

The rule for changing the number of the Concurrent Day on March 1 has already been given, *v. supra*, Chapter iii., § xii., at the end.^b But this rule was not always observed, and computists frequently changed the number on January 1st.

The rule for computing the number of the Concurrent Day when the year of the Solar Cycle is known is as follows :

^b Similarly in Hampson's 'Calendars,' i., 424, we find the Kalends of March annotated thus : “Hic mutantur anni lunares et concurrentes.”

"Si uis scire quotus sit concurrens, sume circulum solarem et quartam eiusdem numeri ipsi adicias, partire per septem, et quot remanent totus est concurrens in nono Kal. April."

$$\frac{s.c. + \frac{s.c.}{4}}{7} = \text{the Concurrent Day.}$$

¶ 2. Ferial Computation by means of Letters.

§ xii. *The Ferial or Diurnal Letters.*

At the beginning of the Book of Common Prayer there is printed a Julian calendar showing the immovable feasts and saints' days observed by the Church of England, with one column of alphabetical letters printed in a certain order, and prefixed to the number of the day of the month. These letters are seven in all, and in copies of the Book of Common Prayer they are always printed in a certain way, viz., capital A, then small b, c, d, e, f, g; then capital A again, and so on, group by group, through all the months to the last day of the year, which has the same letter as the first day of the year. All these letters, whether large or small, are ferial or diurnal letters, but the capital A marks the Sundays of the normal or common A-year, and is styled the Sunday letter. In some books on computistics all the letters are printed in capital type.^a This is clearly erroneous, because the Sunday letter only should be printed as in the Book of Common Prayer, in order to assist selection. The use of these letters is this: If January 1st, a, falls with Sunday in a common Julian year, then the ferial letter is written large and capital A marks the Sundays throughout the year. As the common year ends on the same day of the week as it begins upon, the first day of January in the next (common) Julian year falls on Monday. This, of course, has letter a, and the following Sunday, January 7th, g, is connoted by that letter written large, and all the Sundays throughout the year, therefore, are denoted by G. In the second year "a" marks all the Mondays; "b" all the Tuesdays; "c" all the Wednesdays, and so on.

^a E.g., Prof. Rühl's *Chronologie*, SS. 154, 155. Cf. § iii., *supra*, at the end.

In leap years the sequence of both the ferial and the dominical letters is perturbed by the intercalation of one day, next after February 23rd, as the following table will show :—

		S.L. Ferial Moon.					
A.D. 848 February	19	A	i.	xxviii.	ante diem	XI.	Kalendas Martias.
	20	b	ii.	xxix.	"	X.	"
	21	c	iii.	i.	"	IX.	"
	22	d	iiii.	ii.	"	VIII.	"
	23	e	v.	iii.	"	VII.	"
<i>biduum</i>	24	f	vi.	iiii.	"	bisextum	"
	25	<i>g</i> f	vii.	iiii.	"	VI.	"
	26	<i>A</i> G	i.	v.	"	V.	"
	27	<i>b</i> a	ii.	vi.	"	VI.	"
	28	<i>c</i> b	iii.	vii.	"	III.	"
	29	<i>d</i> c	iiii.	viii.	Pridie Kalendas Martias.		
March	1	<i>e</i> d	v.	ix.	Kalendae Martiae.		
	2	<i>f</i> e	vi.	x.	ante diem	VI.	Nonas Martias.
	3	<i>g</i> f	vii.	xi.	"	V.	"
	4	<i>A</i> G	i.	xii.	"	III.	"

In this table the italic letters in the column of Sunday letters are the letters that would follow if the *biduum* were treated as two days, and had two letters given to it instead of one. Those in the second column after the break are the actual letters. If the lettering were continued as in the italic series, the Sunday and the ferial letters would run on for one hundred and twelve years. The device of allotting one letter only to the *biduum* obviates this, and ensures the renewal of the cycle in twenty-eight years.

The method of using letters of the alphabet to indicate the recurrence of the same days of the week throughout the year was derived, as we have already remarked, *supra*, § *iiii.*, by the early Christians from the pagan pontiffs at Rome. At the commencement of some modern editions of Ovid's *Fasti*, the ancient Roman calendar as observed in the Augustan age, is published, after Merkel.^b The

^b Cf. also Bianchini, *De Kalendario et Cyclo Caesaris*, 1703, pp. 6-7, where the calendar is reproduced diplomatically.

authority for this was a marble slab found in A.D. 1547, but since lost, which is spoken of as "Tabula Maffeana." A copy of the inscriptions upon it was made by Stephen Vinando Pighio, a Netherlander studying at Rome from 1548 to 1556, and his copy still exists. The calendar is arranged in columns under the name of each month, and the first vertical line of each column presents a sequence of eight letters of the alphabet, from *A* to *H*, which does not stop with the last day of a month, but is continued right on throughout the year. It commences with *A* and ends with *E*. One of the letters *B* to *H* (except *E*) marked the *nundinae* or *nouendinae* (cf. Chap. i., § iii., *supra*), the market day for the whole year. The incidence of the *nundinae* was interfered with by the superstitions which deprecated coincidence of the Nundines with either the Kalends of January (*A*), or with the Nones (*E*) of that month or of any other. The same method of connotation is found in the calendar drawn up *Anno* [*a Passione Domini*] CCCLIII. = A.D. 382, under Pope Damasus, by Filocalus."

Some modern writers assure us that Dionysius Exiguus indicated the seven days of the Christian week by the seven letters of the alphabet, and that Bede also used them. This may have been so in both cases, but no authority for either statement has been produced, nor is authority known to exist. Professor Rühl, *Chronologie*, S. 68 (at foot) rightly says:

"Die Sonntagsbuchstaben sind bei Dionysius nicht nachweisbar";

but he unadvisedly continues—

"Es ist vollkommen unbekannt wann und wo sie [S. 72] aufgekomen sind: Beda erwähnt sie noch nicht. Sie müssen indessen eine abendländische Erfindung sein, da die Byzantiner nie davon Gebrauch machen."

§ xiii. *The Sunday, or Dominical, Letters and their Cycle.*

In common Julian years January 1 and December 31, as we have observed already, in the last section, are connoted by the same ferial letter, and the year, therefore, is found to begin and end on the same

^a Cf. *supra*, § iii., d.

weekday. If a common year begins on a Friday that day of the week is connoted by "a," throughout the year. The second day of the year is marked by "b," and the third, which in this particular instance is a Sunday, having letter "c," indicates the Sunday letter of the year, namely C. The year we are considering ends on a Friday and the connotation of the *feriae* of the next common year recommences with "a, January 1, Saturday," and January 2 having letter "b," and falling on Sunday, the letter B is the Sunday letter of the year. This second year ends on a Saturday, and the next year we will assume to be a common year, also. Its ferial connotation recommences, therefore, with "a, January 1, Sunday," and the Sunday letter of the third year must consequently be A. These three years then have Sunday letters C, B, A, and the movement of these letters throughout the cycle is always retrograde. The next year after three common Julian years must be a leap-year, and, as the third common year of the group we have selected ends on Sunday, the leap-year commences with "a, January 1, Monday." Sunday, in this year, being the seventh day of the year, has the seventh letter of the alphabet, and the Sunday letter if the course of the ferial letters were not perturbed by the day intercalated at February 24 (= *bissext. Kal. Mart.*), would therefore be G, throughout the year. But owing to the intercalation the course of the letters is as follows:—

February	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29, etc.
	G	a	b	c	d	e	f	F	g	a	b	c „

With this compare the table printed above in § x. The leap-year, therefore, which we are considering, has two Sunday letters, namely, G and F, and all other leap-years have two letters likewise.

The leap-year that has Sunday letters G and F is the first year of the so-called Solar Cycle of 28 years, which is variously styled from its different members—the Cycle of the Dominical, or, Sunday letters; the Cycle of the Concurrent Days; and the Cycle of the Ferial letters. The leap-years run 1, 5, 9, 13, 17, 21, 25 (29 = 1). The Sunday letters of these years can easily be borne in mind by learning them in pairs in the reverse order in which the pairs severally occur. Thus:—FG, AB, CD, EF, GA, BC, DE, (FG = 1). When the literal

connotation of any leap-year has been counted, care must be taken, before applying it, to reverse the alphabetical order to the correct retrograde position. For instance—What is the Sunday letter of a year that has Cyclic number 20? The nearest leap-year is (5, 9, 13, 17), 21; the pairs of Sunday letters are (AB, CD, EF, GA), BC; the retrograde and correct order is CB, and these are the Sunday letters of year 21; therefore the Sunday Letter of year 20 is D.

The following table gives the relative order of the different members of the Cycle.

THE SOLAR CYCLE.

Year Number.	Feriae of Kal. Januar.	Sunday Letters.	Concurrent Days : ferial letter March 24, f.
1	...	GF	...
2	...	E	...
3	...	D	...
4	...	C	...
5	...	BA	...
6	...	G	...
7	...	F	...
8	...	E	...
9	...	DC	...
10	...	B	...
11	...	A	...
12	...	G	...
13	...	FE	...
14	...	D	...
15	...	C	...
16	...	B	...
17	...	AG	...
18	...	F	...
19	...	E	...
20	...	D	...
21	...	CB	...
22	...	A	...
23	...	G	...
24	...	F	...
25	...	ED	...
26	...	C	...
27	...	B	...
28	...	A	...

Various opinions have been advanced to account for the selection of a GF year as the first of the series. Rühl, *Chronologie*, S. 68, says, "Wahrscheinlich ist der offizielle Anfang mit dem Jahre 328 n. Chr. gemacht worden, als dem nächsten Schaltjahr nach dem Concil von Nikaea, auf dem die definitiven Festsetzungen über das Datum des Osterfestes getroffen wurden und das zugleich mit den Vicennalien Constantins zusammenfiel." (Dr. Rühl here gives a reference to Scaliger, *De Emendatione Temporum*, 1628, p. 359, 507.)

Another suggestion is that Dionysius Exiguus, who wrote his *Paschal Epistle I.* in 526, Sunday letter D, Concurrent iii., chose A.D. 524 for year 1 because that was the nearest leap-year. These, I think, are merely chronological coincidences. The reason why GF was chosen to head the cycle of the Dominical letters, would appear to be inherent in the nature of the connexion between the latter and the Concurrent Days. In the first place, the letter is an occidental invention which was not used by either the Greek or the Oriental Churches; therefore, the linking of the Cycle of the Sunday letters with the Cycle of the Concurrent Days, which is Greek in origin, must have been carried out in the interests of occidental computation. Now, on the one hand, as the Cycle of the Sunday letters comprises seven cycles of four years each, it is obvious that these smaller groups must either begin or end with a leap-year. Any other way of forming this group would entail the necessity of both the cycle and the sub-cycle commencing in the middle of one period of four years, and ending in the middle of another, which is obviously improper. On the other hand, the Oriental Cycle of the Concurrent Days commences on March 24, f, and necessarily on a Sunday, inasmuch as it naturally commences with Concurrent 1, i.e., *prima feria*. The year that is the *nexus* of the two Cycles must therefore be connoted in one by Sunday letter F, and in the other by Concurrent 1. Inspection of the table given above will make it quite clear that the only years that have Sunday letter F, in March, are 1, 7, 18 and 24, and that it is only the first of these that does not present the objection of beginning in one four years' cycle and ending in another, a proceeding which we have already agreed to regard as improper. This year 1, GF, therefore

responds to all the conditions we can impose, and it was selected for that very reason.

The linking of the twin cycles of 28 years to the era of the Incarnation was brought about by inspection. If we have a leap-year to date we can do so accurately within 27 years; consequently, there was no difficulty in determining the place in the Cycle of Sunday letters of A.D. 8, S.L.L. AG, the first year in the Christian era in which the Julian intercalation was effected; *Chap. i., § iii.*

A REVIEW.

Coins and How to Know Them. By Gertrude Burford Rawlings, xix + 374 pages, 35 plates, crown 8vo., cloth 6s. Methuen and Co., London.

It is only within recent years that the student of the various branches of archæology has been enabled to acquire a really useful book upon his subject at a price at all comparative with that of general literature. Amongst the pioneers of this movement were Messrs. Methuen, and we have only to quote their Antiquary's Series to prove that technical and standard works of reference upon almost every section of the subject may now be purchased at prices which we used to pay for fiction. The book before us, however, is of a more general character as befits its title, for it deals with coinage from the assumed date of its invention to the present time, and in the course of its stream flows through the Grecian, Roman, and mediæval European currency before it reaches our shores. Nevertheless, in spite of the large sphere comprised in these chapters the coins are clearly and carefully described, for although selection and condensation are essential they are forgotten in the mass of general information available.

The subjects which come within the provenance of this Society occupy exactly one-half of the book, and comprise Early-British, Anglo-Saxon, English, Irish, Scottish, Colonial and American numismatics, followed by a chapter on Tokens and a Table of modern prices. The coins of the early Britons are well represented, but it is to the Anglo-Saxon series that a second edition should allow far more generous treatment, and it is here only that a feeling of disappointment may pervade. From the Norman Conquest to the reign of His present Majesty the authoress may be credited with not only general knowledge,

but what is better, much modern knowledge. True, her list of selected mints does not claim to be comprehensive, but whilst she correctly recognizes Launceston, Pembroke and St. Davids, no doubt from Mr. Carlyon-Britton's papers in this *Journal*, she credits coins of Launceston to Stepney which never had a mint, and omits Aylesbury, Barnstaple, Buckingham, Cricklade, Christchurch, Guildford, Hythe, and Stafford, which are so well known that they should not be absent from any list, for there are still others which are, perhaps, too recently discovered to be inserted in this edition, or which may be allowed to pass under the proviso of selection. Also we do not like the Saxon \mathfrak{D} and \mathfrak{P} alphabetically classed as D and P, instead of TH and W, although cross references are given.

Ireland receives attention in a short but careful chapter, and Scotland is cleverly and more fully treated. Our Island and Colonial Dominions suffer only from the limits of space; whilst the articles on America and the Tokens are of a general rather than a technical character.

We have not hesitated to anticipate a second edition of this work, for we believe that it will both supply and create a demand. It is not only well illustrated but neat, and is a book which every numismatist has at some time or other required. To all it is useful as a concise volume of reference, for there is more in it than the best of us can say he either remembers or even has forgotten.

W. J. A.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

SESSION 1908.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

SESSION 1908.

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Vice-Presidents.

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THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD GRANTLEY, F.S.A., D.L., J.P.

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SIR ALFRED SCOTT-GATTY, KT., F.S.A., Garter Principal King of Arms.

EDWARD UPTON, ESQ., F.Z.S.

FLEET-SURGEON A. E. WEIGHTMAN, R.N.

Hon. Auditors.

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A. C. HUTCHINS, ESQ., A.C.A.

Corresponding Members of the Council.

UNDER CHAPTER XVIII OF THE RULES.

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„ ...	WISCONSIN ...	F. C. SMITH, ESQ., E.M.
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Clerk to the Council.

MR. H. E. RETHAM.

43, BEDFORD SQUARE,

LONDON, W.C.

The British Numismatic Society.

PROCEEDINGS.

1908.

ORDINARY MEETING.

January 22nd, 1908.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., D.L., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the ORDINARY and ANNIVERSARY MEETINGS held on November 30th, 1907, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

Certificates for Candidates for Election.

The PRESIDENT read the following five certificates for membership and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

Robert Hugh Davis, Esq.
 William Munro Tapp, Esq., B.A., LL.D., F.S.A.
 John Francis Warwick, Esq.
 James Henry Horsley, Esq.
 Gordon Joseph Lane, Esq., B.A., M.D.

It was proposed by the PRESIDENT, seconded by Mr. Roth, and resolved, that these certificates be suspended, and that the candidates be balloted for at the next ordinary meeting of the Society.

Ballot.

The Ballot for the two candidates proposed for membership on November 30th, 1907, was held, and the President declared that both had been elected.

Admissions.

The following Members were admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section 10, of the Rules, viz. :—

Edward Philips Thompson, Esq.
 Arthur Middleton Jarmin, Esq.
 General C. S. Feltrim Fagan, R.M.L.I., F.R.G.S.
 William Edward Miller, Esq.
 Edward Francklin, Esq.
 George Browne, Esq., F.C.S.
 F. G. Hilton Price, Esq., F.G.S., Director of the Society
 of Antiquaries.
 The Public Library of South Australia.
 James Maurice Henry, Esq.
 H. B. Earle Fox, Esq.

Presentations.

The American Numismatic and Archæological Society.—
 "Proceedings and Papers for 1907."

Major W. J. Freer.—The Great Seal of Queen Victoria in leather.

Messrs. Spink and Son.—“The Numismatic Circular,” vol. xv, 1907.

Mr. Anscombe.—Drawing by Miss Anscombe on an enlarged scale of a pavillon d'or of Edward the Black Prince.

Exhibitions.

Major W. J. Freer.—A unique series of medals and orders which were originally awarded to General Sir John Harvey, K.C.B., K.C.H., Governor-General of Nova Scotia, viz.: Gold Peninsular medal for Chrystlers Farm (Canada); general military service medal, one bar, Egypt; K.C.B. stars, large and small, and K.C.H. star. He joined the 80th Regiment, and was ensign September, 18th, 1794, lieutenant July 15th, 1795, captain, January 8th, 1804, major, January 18th, 1808, lieut.-colonel, June 25th, 1812, colonel, May 27th, 1825, major-general, January 10th, 1837, lieut.-general, November 9th, 1846, colonel (59th Foot), December 3rd, 1844. Sir John Harvey served under the Duke of York in the severe winter campaign in Holland, 1794-95, and carried the colours of the 80th in the action of December 31st. In 1795 he served on the coast of France at Isle Dieu and Quiberon; proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope in 1796, where he was present during the short service which led to the surrender of the Dutch fleet at Salaanha Bay. In February, 1801, he proceeded from India to Egypt under Sir David Baird; returned to India in 1802, and served in the campaigns of 1803, -4, -5, and -6, against the chief Holkar. He was employed as Deputy Adjutant-General in Upper Canada during the campaigns of

1813 and 1814, including the first action of Fort George and the surprise and defeat of the enemy at Stoney Creek, defeat of the enemy at Chrystlers Farm, capture of Fort Niagara, Black Rock, Buffalo and Oswego, battle of Lundy's Lane, siege and assault of Fort Erie, and sortie of September 17th, severely wounded at siege of Fort Erie, August 6th, 1814. Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of Nova Scotia. Died 1852-3.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence.—Noble of the latest issue of Edward III., 1367-77: noble of Henry IV., of usual design on both sides. Obverse legend, **HENRIC : DI : GRT :**
REX ANGL : Z : FRANC : DNS HYB :; three ropes from stern of ship, two from prow, ornaments, two lys. Mint-mark, cross pattée. Reverse, quatrefoil, lion's head in first quarter. The coin shows the peculiar and stunted square lettering on the obverse, which is characteristic of the very rare groats of Henry IV. with the emaciated portrait. The groat of Henry IV. for comparison.

Gold crown of Henry VIII. with letters H R crowned in the field of both obverse and reverse.



GOLD CROWN OF HENRY VIII.

A silver portrait plaque of Charles I. of late seventeenth century work.

Mr. W. C. Wells.—Penny of Henry I., Hawkins 267. Obverse : **✠ HENRIC : REX.** Reverse : **✠ ATSTAN : ON :**
NORPIC.

Paper.

Fleet-Surgeon A. E. Weightman contributed a comprehensive monograph on "The Bronze Coinage of Queen Anne," in which the methods of using dies and puncheons, and of preparing blanks, were discussed, and the size and shape of the coins, and the characteristics of their edges, were reviewed. The arguments derived from these considerations were employed as criteria to distinguish between patterns, re-strikes, and coins intended for currency. Among the results achieved, it was proved that the farthing numbered 15 in *Montagu* was only a pattern, and that an extant variation of this piece was that actually struck for public use. The writer had classified all the known varieties of the halfpenny and farthing of Queen Anne, and had compiled lists of them. His paper also included references to historical documents which throw light on the signification of the designs adopted.

In a general discussion which followed the reading of the paper, the opinion of the meeting was expressed that the very rare farthing numbered 16 by Montagu, and misjudged by him to be a jetton, was really a pattern.

This paper will appear in a future volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

February 26th, 1908.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., D.L., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on January 22nd, 1908, were read, confirmed, and signed by the PRESIDENT.

The PRESIDENT read to the meeting copies of the letters he had addressed to the Count d'Arnos, and to the Portuguese Chargé d'Affaires in London, expressing, on behalf of the Society, the feelings of profound sympathy and horror with which the news of the assassina-

tion of King Carlos of Portugal, a Royal Member of the Society, and the Duke of Braganza, had been received. He also read the following telegrams received in reply :—

To P. Carlyon-Britton, Esq.,
43, Bedford Square,
London, W.C.

Their Majesties are most grateful for your kind letter and sympathy.

ARNOSO.

To the President of the
British Numismatic Society,
43, Bedford Square, W.C.

Many thanks for your kind expressions of sympathy, which shall be conveyed to Her Majesty.

CAMARA MANOEL,
Chargé d'Affaires.

Ballot.

The Ballot for the five candidates proposed for election to membership on January 22nd, was held, and the President declared that all had been elected.

Admissions.

The following members were admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section 10, of the Rules, viz. :—

Francis William Brothers, Esq.
Sidney Edward Barrett, Esq., B.A., M.B., F.Z.S.

Presentations.

Mr. R. W. K. Goddard.—A frosted silver medal inscribed on the obverse, KING EDWARD VI. SCHOOL, BROMSGROVE, around an ornamented tablet. Reverse, a seated female figure, the left hand of which rests on an armorial shield.

- Mr. A. H. Baldwin.—A set of four specimens of the 1907 coinage for East Africa and Uganda, namely : A 50 cent and a 25 cent-piece struck in silver ; a 10 cent-piece in nickel, and a cent in aluminium. The silver coins bear a bust of King Edward VII. on the obverse, and a lion and mountain on the reverse. The nickel piece has a round perforation at the centre, and the King's titles, etc., on the obverse, and elephants' tusks on the reverse. The cent is similar in type and perforation to the nickel piece.
- Mr. R. W. McLachlan, of Montreal.—Patterns of Canadian coins struck by himself at the Royal Mint for Canada, and a copy of the *Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*.
- Mr. J. Sanford Saltus.—Three gold coins of the United States of America, namely : two twenty-dollar pieces and one ten-dollar piece. The twenty-dollar pieces were dated MCMVII on the obverse, and bore the word, and also the figure of Liberty standing erect. On the reverse are the words, " United States of America. Twenty Dollars," with an eagle volant to dexter, and the sun in base. One of these coins was of flatter module and was the second and current issue. The other was of the first issue, which was re-called soon after issue. A ten-dollar piece which was issued in the same year and presented the same inscriptions, but the design was different ; on the obverse were the date and a head of Liberty to dexter ; on the reverse, an eagle at rest, to sinister.
- Messrs. Sotheby and Co.—Bound priced catalogues of their last season's coin sales.

Exhibitions.

- Mr. A. H. Baldwin.—Strikings in lead of the designs for a

token for 11*d.*, dated 1805. The dies used were cut by Pingo, and the design for the obverse was very similar to that of the 18*d.* tokens of 1811 and 1812. This 11*d.* token was intended to serve as one-sixth of the dollar, which was then worth 5*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher.—Copper, bronzed and gilt specimens, dated 1802, of the Charleville Forest 13*d.* token.

Mr. Henry Clay Miller, of New York.—Four Saxon pennies of Edward the Elder. Obverse, + EADVVEARD REX, small cross pattée. Reverse, a group of pellets, 2, 1, 2 cutting the word BRE | CE+ through the centre; above and below, two eight-armed ornaments between groups of three pellets. This is a variety of *British Museum Catalogue*, type viii. Harold I. Obverse, + HARO | LD REX:curious bust; reverse, + S/EPINE ON LEHR; Leicester, Hildebrand's type B. Harthacnut: obverse, + HARÐA | ENVT RE, bust to the right; reverse, + ELFEH ON ROFE •• Rochester, being Hildebrand's type A, variety *a*. Obverse, + HARD | ENVT RE, bust to the right: reverse, + EADRIC ON TANT : Taunton, similar to the last described.

Mr. W. Sharp Ogden.—A groat of fine silver of the third issue of Henry VIII., dated 1543, and weighing 39 grains. Mr. Ogden remarked that the mint-mark on this groat had not been previously recorded, and was present both on the obverse and reverse of the coin. It was a fleur-de-lys of which the sinister leaf was contorted into an annulet. Obverse, **HENRIC** ✕ 8 ✕ **D** ✕ **G** ✕ **AGL** ✕ **FRA** ✕ **Z** ✕ **HIB** ✕ **REX**; reverse, **POSVI** | **DEV** ✕ **ADIVTOR** | **EM** ✕ **MEV**', annulets in the forks of the cross-limbs.

Mr. W. C. Wells.—A fine specimen of Irish ring-money, the use of which was assigned to the early Iron Age, *i.e.*, to about 300 B.C. It was of gold, and weighed 544 grains. Penny of William I., Hawkins 243, Carlyon - Britton type VI, with reverse legend, ✕ **SPARTBRAND OND**.

Papers.

Dr. Stanley Bousfield contributed a note on the pattern half-pennies of 1788 and 1790 by Droz, in which he described the processes gone through in producing coins and medals, illustrating his remarks by examples in wax and metal formerly in the Pingo collection.

Mr. Shirley Fox read a paper on "The Cross as a Mint-mark on Coins of the Plantagenet Kings from Edward I. to Edward IV." His efforts were directed towards ensuring a more accurate appreciation of the variations in the form of the cross apparent in the different examples. Fifty-five varieties of the cross, pattée, moline, fitchée, etc., were sketched on the blackboard in groups. Mr. Fox hoped that the minute comparison of the form of the cross, with the lettering and workmanship of the inscription, would enable him to assign each different series issued between 1272 and 1483 to its true chronological position in the coinage of the realm.

Both the above papers are printed in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

March 25th, 1908.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., D.L., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on February 26th, 1908, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

New Member.

The PRESIDENT read the following certificate for membership and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

Major Sir Harry North, Kt.

It was proposed by the President, seconded by Mr. Roth, and resolved, that this certificate be suspended, and that the candidate be balloted for at the next ordinary meeting of the Society.

Admissions.

The following members were admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section 10, of the Rules, viz. :—

William John Butcher, Esq.
 R. O. Davies, Esq.
 James Henry Horsley, Esq.
 Gordon Joseph Lane, Esq., B.A., M.D. (*in person*).
 George Edward Morewood, Esq. (*in person*).
 William Munro Tapp, Esq., B.A., LL.D., F.S.A.
 John Francis Warwick, Esq.

Exhibitions.

Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson,—

Henry VII. shilling with lys as mint-mark, and reading on the obverse, **HERRIC' DI' GRA ANGLIE Z FRAN'**; reverse, **POSVI DEV' x ADIVTO'E x MEV'**. Weight, 137 grains.

Mary, three shillings, one of which is not dated, and is countermarked with the arms of Zeeland. The two others are dated 1554 and 1555 respectively, the earlier having English titles, and the date over the busts, the later having the date below them.

Henry VII., two groats: (*a*) of the third or profile type, mint-mark, a lys. Obverse, **HERRICVS x DEI x GRA x REX x ANGLI' x Z x FRA'**. Reverse, **POSVI DEVM x ADIVTORE' x MEVM**; (*b*) of the same type, with mint-mark a lys on the obverse, and a greyhound's head on the reverse.

Henry VIII., two groats; (*a*) of the second coinage, with mint-mark, a pheon. Obverse, **HE**NRIC' x 8 x **D'** x **G'** x **AGL'** x **FR**A' x **Z** x **RI**B' x **RE**X; (*b*) of the debased metal, with mint-mark a bow; the reverse reads, **REDD CVIQ' Q' SVVM EST**. A half-groat of the second coinage of the same king, Canterbury, mint-mark a rose. Reverse, initials omitted on either side of the shield of arms.

Elizabeth half-crown, with figure "2" above "1" as mint-mark. Two sixpences: (*a*) of 1561, with a pheon as mint-mark, but without the rose behind the bust; (*b*) of 1562, milled, the Queen's bodice being plain, and the second letter "E" omitted from her name.

Mr. Fentiman, on behalf of Mr. S. M. Spink.—

Six testoons, one of Henry VIII., with mint-mark \odot , the others of Edward VI., namely: (*a*) and (*b*) with mint-marks *t* and *Y* respectively; (*c*) and (*d*) severally countermarked in the reign of Elizabeth with a greyhound and a portcullis, with the intention that they should serve for $2\frac{1}{4}d.$ and $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ respectively; (*e*) a pattern in fine silver, dated 1547, bearing the legend beginning with the words **TIMOR DOMINI**, and an oval shield between the letters **E** and **R**. Two shillings of Edward VI., one of fine silver, with mint-mark *y*; the other countermarked with a portcullis. Two shillings of Philip and Mary, one of 1554, the other undated. Two, also, of Elizabeth, one milled and of small type, the other a pattern, having a key for mint-mark. Lastly, a pattern sixpence of Elizabeth, dated 1574, and bearing a mullet as mint-mark on the obverse. On the reverse the royal arms quartered by a broad-limbed cross extending to the edge of the coin.

Mr. Max Rosenheim.—

1. A bronze-gilt medal by Jacopo Nizola da Trezzo bearing on the obverse a bust of Mary looking to the left, and the inscriptions, MARIA · I · REG · ANGL · FRANC · ET HIB · FIDEI · DEFENSATRIX and IAC · TREZ. On the reverse, CECIS VISVS TIMIDIS QVIES, and a female figure, crowned and seated, looking to the left, holding a palm branch in her right hand, while, with a torch in the other, she sets fire to a pile of arms. On the left are figures in an attitude of supplication. (See *Armand*, i, 241-3, and *Van Loon*, i, 10.)
2. A leaden medal of Philip and Mary by the same artist as the last piece. (See *Armand*, ii, *s.p.*, 242-5, and *Van Mieris*, iii, 378.)
3. A bronze-gilt medal struck by command of Pope Julius III. to commemorate the marriage of Philip and Mary, and engraved by Giovanni Cavino of Padua. On the obverse is the inscription IVLIVS · TERTIVS · PONT · MAX · A · V · 10 · CAVINO · P. On the reverse are the words, ANGLIA RESVRGES · VT NVNC · NOVISSIMO · DIE. The design shows a female figure, kneeling, to personify England, and a cardinal priest lifting her up in the presence of the Pope, whose figure is surrounded by those of Charles V., his son Philip, and Mary Tudor.
4. A uniface bronze medal of Sir John Cheke, the tutor of Edward VI. It bears a draped bust turned to the right, and the words IOANNES CHECVS. The medal was cast by an artist of Padua, where Cheke lectured in 1555.
5. A uniface bronze medal of Henry VIII., which is believed to be the work of a Dutch or German artist. A medal of similar style is attributed to Stephen of Holland by Dr. Julien Simonis in his

work, the *Art du Medailleur en Belgique*. But the only reason for this attribution appears to be the fact that Stephen passed some time in England in about 1562.

- 6 and 7. A miniature on vellum, and a cameo portrait in onyx of Queen Elizabeth. The first, it is suggested, may have been cut from a grant or other document; the second is set in a ring of modern setting.
8. A remarkable case of mathematical instruments, signed Barthelmewe Newsum. Newsum was the Queen's clockmaker, and the instruments were probably made for the Queen's own use. This case was exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries in 1897, and is illustrated in *Archæologia* of that year, pp. 531-533.

Paper.

Miss Helen Farquhar contributed a comprehensive and interesting treatise, from both the historical and the numismatic points of view, on "Artistic Portraiture of our Tudor Monarchs on their Coins and Medals." By means of contemporary descriptions of the personal appearance of the several monarchs, and photographic reproductions of portraits and medals preserved in the national and some well-known private collections, Miss Farquhar demonstrated how close is the relationship between certain portraits of the Tudors painted by the artists of the period and the representations of them on their coins and medals. Miss Farquhar's method was applied with particular success in the case of the coins issued by Henry VIII. in 1526. On these coins the King's head is presented in profile, and he is shown as clean-shaven, which was not his custom. Miss Farquhar gave reasons for thinking that he really had discarded his beard for a short time at about that date. Similarly, she was able to adduce evidence for the belief that the beautiful medal of Elizabeth, *Medallic Illustrations*,

No. 129, was the work of Nicholas Hilliard, the miniaturist, goldsmith, and carver to the Queen.

The above paper was printed in vol. iv, pp. 79-143, of this *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING.

April 22nd, 1908.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., D.L., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on March 25th, 1908, were read, confirmed and signed by the President.

New Members.

The PRESIDENT read the following certificates for membership and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

Charles Harold Athill, Esq., F.S.A., Richmond Herald.
Clement Pain, Esq.
William Pavyer, Esq.

It was proposed by the PRESIDENT, seconded by Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson, and resolved that these certificates be suspended, and that the candidates be balloted for at the next ordinary meeting of the Society.

Ballot.

The Ballot for Major Sir Harry North, the candidate proposed for membership on March 25th, 1908, was held, and the President declared that he had been elected.

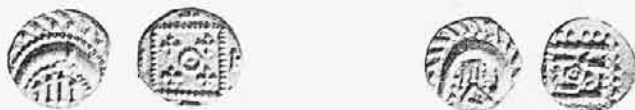
Exhibitions.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence.—A heavy quarter-noble of Henry IV., rather worn, and weighing 27 grains. On the obverse, the arms of France, modern, are quartered on the king's shield. The legend reads: **HENRIC DI GRÆ REX ANGLÆ RR**, and has crosses for stops. There is a crescent above the shield.

Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson.—Three sets of copper coins issued by Denmark, Holland and France, respectively, for use in India. The Danish coins comprised a series of 2 and 4 cash from the Tranquebar mint, ranging from about 1730, Christian VI., to 1845, Christian VIII., and including specimens of 4 cash issued under Frederick V., Christian VII. and Frederick VI. Two Indo-Dutch coins minted at Negapatam in the eighteenth century, and three Indo-French, two of them of the cock type, the third stamped with a lys.

Major R. P. Jackson.—An autograph catalogue of the coins of the state of Mysore in his own collection, which comprises more than eleven hundred pieces.

Mr. H. A. Parsons.—Three Saxon sceattas found near Franaker, Friesland, two being from the same dies, Fig. 1, weight 17 grs., and the third as Fig. 2, weight 19 grs.



SCEATTAS FOUND IN FRIESLAND. FIGS. 1 AND 2.

Also a Northumbrian styca of Eardwulf, Fig. 3.



NORTHUMBRIAN STYCA OF EARDWULF. FIG. 3.

Mr. William Charlton.—Twelve Roman minimi found in a tumulus at Ketteringham, co. Norfolk.

Papers.

Mr. Bernard Roth, V.P., F.S.A., read a paper on "A Hoard of Staters and Gold Bullets discovered in the Department of the Marne in November, 1905." One-half of this hoard consisted of cupped or ordinary gold staters of the Morini, of nearly 18 carats fine, having an average weight of 100·3 grains. The other half was composed of 200 globular gold staters, or *bullæ*, of about 17 carats fine, having an average weight of 112·65 grains.

In addition to specimens from the author's cabinet, there were exhibited by Mr. A. H. Baldwin ten cupped staters and fifteen *bullæ*. The shape and ornamentation of the two sorts of coins were minutely described by Mr. Roth, and after laying stress on the weight of the pieces and the fineness of the gold of which they are made, he advanced the conclusions (1) that the recently discovered hoard does not support the opinion that cupped staters were struck from *bullæ*; and (2) that Evans type B 8 of *Ancient British Coins* is really Gaulish, the numerous examples found in England having probably been imported.

This paper was printed in vol. iv, pp. 221–228, of this *Journal*.

Major R. P. Jackson contributed papers on "Coin-collecting in the Deccan," and on "Some Copper Coins issued by European Powers in Southern India." The latter dealt with the copper issues of the East India Company current in the Madras Presidency; and Danish, Dutch, and French issues were also passed in review, and illustrated by numerous examples. In the former paper Major Jackson described the difficulties that European and native rulers experienced, between 1835 and 1893, in the different attempts made to set the coinage of India upon an economic basis. He explained both the reasons of the unwillingness of the Indian princes to initiate, and of the trading classes to accept, reformation of the currency; and also the various devices adopted by the latter to retain the lucrative

business of money-changing. He also depicted the *milieu* in which the collector in the Deccan finds himself, with six official currencies to occupy his attention, as well as more than thirty local issues of different towns and villages. Nearly all these, it was pointed out, being hand-made, are easily counterfeited. They differ in shape and size, and range from 10 per cent. below standard to as low as 50 per cent. The confusing variety of the coins was copiously illustrated by examples from Major Jackson's own collection.

The papers appear in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

May 20th, 1908.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., D.L., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on April 22nd, 1908, were read, confirmed, and signed by the PRESIDENT.

New Members.

The PRESIDENT read the following six certificates for membership, and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Arthur John Doyle, Esq.

William Earl Hidden, Esq., F.G.S.

Alfred William Oke, Esq., B.A., LL.M., F.G.S.

Lieut.-Colonel Robert William Shipway, V.D., J.P.

Elliott Smith, Esq.

It was proposed by the PRESIDENT, seconded by Mr. Bernard

Roth, and resolved, that these nominations be balloted for at the next ordinary meeting of the Society.

Ballot.

The ballot for the candidates proposed for membership on April 22nd, 1908, was held, and the President declared that all had been elected.

Admission.

Major Sir Harry North, Kt.

Presentation.

"The Coins of Carausius," by Percy H. Webb, Esq.,
F.R.N.S., the donor.

Exhibitions.

The President.—Cast of a small bronze coin in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. The coin is of post-Roman work, copying the portraiture of the Roman *minimi* on the obverse, and prefiguring the debased ornamentation of the Anglo-Saxon *sceattas* on the reverse.



IMITATION OF ROMAN *MINIMI* IN BRONZE.



THE PROTOTYPE FOR THE OBTVERSE.

Mr. A. H. Baldwin.—A 1906 Natal medal.

Mr. T. Bearman.—A penny of William the Lion of Scotland, reading : **hVGO : ON : PET**, Perth.

Papers.

Papers were read by Mr. A. H. Baldwin, on "Some Unpublished Seventeenth Century Tokens"; by Mr. L. Clements, on "Hampshire Tokens of the Seventeenth Century"; and by Mr. W. C. Wells, on "The Token Coinage of Northamptonshire." In these papers town pieces received attention, as well as the issues of private tradesmen. Some towns, it was remarked, issued tokens by authority of the town bailiff and the overseers, such as at Peterborough; others, at Northampton, did so by authority of the town chamberlain. Acts of Charles II. prohibiting the practice were cited, and cases were referred to where corporations subsequently petitioned Government for permission to strike town pieces. The deterioration of the bronze coinage of the realm in the early part of the seventeenth century was commented upon; and Miss Helen Farquhar announced the recent discovery, among abstracts of the State Papers of 1630, of a petition to King Charles I. from the engraver Briot. In this petition Briot begged for leave to set up engines in the Tower, in order to improve the coinage of bronze and prevent counterfeiting by hand. The acts of encroachment upon the minting rights of the Crown were so numerous that Mr. A. H. Baldwin estimated that not fewer than 15,000 different tokens were in currency during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The practice was widespread, and Mr. A. W. Barnes exhibited a collection of 88 tokens of the seventeenth century current in Bedfordshire alone. Mr. L. Clements exhibited specimens of all the tokens issued in the Isle of Wight, 47 in number. In addition, he exhibited 228 specimens of Hampshire tokens (dating from 1652 onward) out of the 241 published, together with 50 others of the same county, regarded as unique. Of the Northamptonshire tokens Mr. W. C. Wells's catalogue comprised 183 varieties, described from the pieces themselves. The allocation of the pieces is sometimes doubtful. Occasionally the name of the town is wanting; but it was the custom of die-sinkers and engravers of tokens to pass from place to place in pursuit of their calling, and much of the work is so characteristic that experts are able to determine the part of the country

to which doubtful types must be allotted. The value of parish registers in allocating tokens was also mentioned; and the assistance so frequently received from the clergy in connection therewith was acknowledged. The spelling of the names of places preserved on the tokens is indicative of the mode of speech of the district, and for the most part is phonetic. In many instances desire for variety is shown, as in the cases of Reading and Peterborough, the names of which are spelt in twelve and twenty-two different ways respectively.

Other exhibits of tokens were made by the Rev. Dr. H. J. Dukinfield Astley (Norwich) and Messrs. F. Willson Yeates (Buntingford), S. H. Hamer (Yorkshire and Ribchester), L. L. Fletcher (Irish, unpublished), L. A. Lawrence (East Anglian), and Bernard Roth (Middlesex).

At the request of the authors the publication of these papers awaits completion of research in the parish registers and elsewhere.

ORDINARY MEETING.

June 24th, 1908.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., D.L., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on May 20th, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

The PRESIDENT referred, in feeling terms, to the loss that numismatic science had experienced through the death of Sir John Evans, and expressed the sense of regret felt by the meeting.

New Member.

The PRESIDENT read the following certificate for membership, and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

Iltyd Bond Nicholl, Esq., F.S.A.

It was proposed by the PRESIDENT, seconded by Mr. Bernard Roth, and resolved, that this nomination be balloted for at the next meeting of the Society.

Ballot.

The ballot for the candidates proposed for membership on May 20th, 1908, was held, and the PRESIDENT declared that all had been elected.

Admissions.

Charles Harold Athill, Esq., F.S.A., Richmond Herald.
Clement Pain, Esq.

Presentations.

To the Society's collections :—

Mr. Augustus Papworth Ready.—

A large collection of mounted casts of Anglo-Saxon coins.

Mr. Max Rosenheim.—

A collection of silver and copper English, Scottish, Irish and Anglo-Gallic coins, comprising fifty-five specimens.

Mr. J. Sanford Saltus.—

Specimens of the gold twenty-dollar and ten-dollar pieces of the U.S.A., 1908 issue.

A star in gold and enamel issued to members of the Society of Colonial Wars, 1607-1775.

To the Library :—

From the author, Le Baron de Bildt, an Honorary Member of the Society.—“ Les Médailles romaines de Christine de Suède.”

Mr. Nathan Heywood.—“ The Coins, Tokens, and Medals of Worcestershire,” by William A. Cotton.

Exhibitions.

- Mr. Bernard Roth.—A penny of Edward III. with one of the pellets on the reverse replaced by what is apparently the royal orb.
- Major Freer.—A group of four war medals granted for service in the Soudan, at Khartoum, and on the Atbara, and in South Africa.
- Mr. William Charlton.—A Parnell silver medal; obverse, a bust of Charles Stewart Parnell circumscribed with the words, IRELAND'S ARMY OF INDEPENDENCE 1891, also a medal struck in 1900 to commemorate the visit of the late Queen Victoria to Ireland, and the gallant conduct of the Irish regiments in South Africa.
- Dr. Herbert Peck.—A representative collection of South African, Channel Island, and colonial coins.

Paper.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, Director, read a paper on "The Short-Cross and Long-Cross Coinages from Henry II. to Henry III." The learned paper of the late Sir John Evans, entitled "The Short-Cross Question," was relied on for the main arguments in reference to the coins bearing the short double cross. The classification was shown to be correct, but it was thought that some subdivision of, at any rate, Class IV, might simplify matters. The long-cross series of Henry III.'s money was shown to be capable of better arrangement than that given by Hawkins. Mr. Lawrence, on suggestions thrown out by the President and Mr. Fox, was able to show that the earlier group consisted of sceptreless coins, and that these were followed by the sceptred group. Subdivision of each of these classes was made in connection with the little pellets at times found on each side of the head. The type of coin struck by the moneyer Phelip at London, and bearing a sceptre, was shown to be a type rather than a peculiarity of an engraver. Coins of London of this type by two moneyers were

exhibited, and of Bury St. Edmunds, also by two moneyers. The latest coin of the long-cross series was considered to be one of Durham which markedly resembled the earliest type of the coins of Edward I. The coin beginning the long-cross series was also shown and its characteristics noted. It bore no sceptre and had no mint-name, and it compared with the latest class of the short-cross coinage which preceded it. Coins of the short and long-cross periods were exhibited by the lecturer, by Mr. W. C. Wells, and the President.

The paper will be published when Mr. Lawrence has completed his research.

ORDINARY MEETING.

July 15th, 1908.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., D.L., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on June 24th, 1908, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

New Members.

The PRESIDENT read the following certificates for membership and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

James Ten Eyck, Esq.

Frank T. Kieffer, Esq.

It was proposed by the PRESIDENT, seconded by Mr. Anscombe, and resolved, that these nominations be balloted for at the next meeting of the Society.

Admissions.

Lieut.-Colonel Robert William Shipway, V.D., J.P.
 Arthur John Doyle, Esq.
 Alfred William Oke, Esq., B.A., LL.M., F.G.S.
 The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Ballot.

The Ballot for the candidate proposed for membership on June 24th, 1908, was held, and the President declared that he had been elected.

Exhibitions.

Mr. Andrew.—A small bronze jug, one of a pair, with handle in the form of a hook for suspension from the girdle, terminating in a horse's head, found at Kirklington, near Ripon, containing Roman $\alpha 3$, of Tetricus and Gallienus ; also specimens of the coins.

Mr. Beloe.—Penny of Stephen, Hawkins 268. Reverse :
*** DIVN : ON : RISINGE.** Only one other specimen of this reading is known, viz., that in the Rashleigh collection.



PENNY OF STEPHEN. HAWKINS, 268, CASTLE RISING MINT.

The President.—Penny of Stephen, Hawkins 277. Reverse :
*** WALCHELINVS DERBI** ; and two pennies assigned by Mr. Andrew to William de Moion of Hawkins 284.

Mr. Lawrence.—A groat and two half-groats of Edward III. The groat is of the period from 1351 to 1360, and shows a cross between the pellets in the fourth quarter.



FORGERY OF A GROAT OF HENRY IV.

The half-groats are of the same period and bear on the reverse an annulet outside the pellets in the second quarter. Also a false groat of Henry IV.

Mr. Wells.—A penny of Coenwulf of Mercia by the moneyer HEREBERHT; on the reverse is a cluster of six pellets within a beaded circle.



PENNY OF COENWULF OF MERCIA.

Papers.

Mr. W. J. Andrew continued his series of addresses on the coinage of the reign of Stephen. The martlet-type, Hawkins No. 277, was peculiar to the mint of Derby, and he attributed its issue to Robert de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, during the captivity of Stephen in the summer of 1141, when, in consequence of the Empress Matilda being in possession of London, the earl would be precluded from obtaining official dies, and would be thrown on his own resources for supplies of currency. He would, no doubt, employ the local seal-cutter to sink the dies, and this would explain the unusual character of both workmanship and lettering. Mr. Andrew accepted the reading of the moneyer's name as corrected by Mr. Anscombe and Mr. Carlyon-Britton to WALCHELINUS, instead of WHICHELINUS as previously supposed, and quoted numerous charters to prove his relationship to the Earl and his large benefactions to Darley Abbey. As further evidence that this type was issued by Robert de Ferrers, Mr. Andrew

referred to a coin which, with the exception that on the reverse fleurs-de-lys replaced the martlets, was of identical workmanship, lettering, and design, and clearly the work of the same die-sinker. The name of the mint upon it was STV, a contraction of Stutesberia, the old name for Tutbury, nine miles from Derby and the *caput* of the earldom. The Earl's castle was at Tutbury, and as he himself was also called Robert de Stutesberia, being so referred to by Orderic, it was a question for consideration whether the horseman type, Hawkins No. 280, bearing the legend ROBERTUS DE STU, should not be assigned to him rather than to Robert de Stutville. The variety, Hawkins type VI of Stephen's first type, on which the cross on the reverse was engrailed and terminated by fleurs, Mr. Andrew assigned to ecclesiastical mints, and instanced examples of Exeter and of Newark, quoting in support a charter from Stephen granting to the then Bishop of Lincoln the privilege of coining at his castle of Newark. Passing on to the series of coins reading WILLELMUS, Hawkins No. 284, hitherto attributed to William, the son of Stephen, he illustrated two varieties of the type, on which, fortunately, the name was extended. One of these bore the addition of DE MOI and the other read WILL'DN.DV.O., and there was, therefore, no difficulty in assigning them to William de Moion, lord of Dunster, subsequently created by Matilda Earl of Somerset and Dorset. William de Moion refused to acknowledge Stephen's title to the crown, and although the latter, in 1139, advanced against him in person, he failed to quell the insurrection, for William's castle of Dunster was impregnable. As, therefore, De Moion held Somerset and Dorset by right of the sword, and, except during the short tenure of the crown by the Empress, acknowledged fealty to no one, he would hesitate to pay his troops with Stephen's money, and so preferred to coin in his own name, imitating, with the necessary omission of crown and sceptre, the types of Henry I. which still passed current throughout the country.

Mr. W. Sharp Ogden read a paper on "The Roman Mint and Early Britain," in which particular attention was paid to the methods employed by the artificers both in the Roman *officina* and in the

provincial mints, and a great deal of light was thrown upon the way of using the minting implements unearthed at Dunston, Polden Hill, and elsewhere.

Mr. Ogden's paper is printed in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

October 21st, 1908.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., D.L., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on July 15th, 1908, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

New Members.

The PRESIDENT read the following certificates for membership and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

Henry Olson Granberg, Esq.

John Murray Walpole, Esq.

Merton Russell Cotes, Esq., F.R.G.S.

Mons. Felix Feuarent.

Albert Fairchild Holden, Esq., B.A.

It was proposed by the PRESIDENT, seconded by Mr. Fletcher, and resolved, that these nominations be balloted for at the next meeting of the Society.

Admissions.

Iltyd Bond Nicholl, Esq., F.S.A. (*in person*).

Elliott Smith, Esq.

Ballot.

The Ballot for the two candidates proposed for membership on July 15th, 1908, was held, and the President declared that they had been elected.

Officers of the Council for the Session 1909.

The PRESIDENT read the list of names recommended by the Council for the Officers and Council of 1909 and announced that the Anniversary Meeting would be held on November 30th at 8 p.m., the ballot to be opened at 8.15 p.m. and closed at 8.45 p.m.

Auditors.

The PRESIDENT nominated, and the meeting approved, the appointment of Mr. H. St. Barbe, goldsmith, and Mr. A. C. Hutchins, and failing either of whom, Mr. A. G. Chifferiel, as auditors under Chapter XIX of the Rules.

Exhibitions.

The President.—A coronation medal of William III. and Mary, with the inscription, NON RAPIT IMPERIUM VIS TUA SED RECIPIT on the edge, of which no example was known to the authors of *Medallic Illustrations*, and which Mr. Carlyon - Britton has therefore presented to the National Collection.



UNPUBLISHED VARIETY OF THE CORONATION MEDAL OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

A penny of Offa of Mercia with moneyer PEHTVALD; a variety hitherto unpublished.



PENNY OF OFFA, AN UNRECORDED VARIETY.

Mr. Lawrence.—Pennies of Henry IV., V. and VI.



PENNIES OF HENRY IV. OR HENRY V.

Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson.—A single paisah of Tippo Saib of Mysore.



SINGLE PAISAH OF TIPPO SAIB OF MYSORE.

Mr. A. H. Baldwin.—Cromwell farthings, one unpublished, being a mule of obverse *Montagu* No. 5 with reverse No. 1. Also a rupee bearing a bust of the reigning Emperor of China recently coined to assert his suzerainty over Tibet.

Mr. John West.—A copper coin of Ebura Cerealis, Granada, copied from the type of Panormos, exhibiting on the



COPPER COIN OF GRANADA FOUND AT ABINGDON.

reverse a gorgon's head at the junction of three human legs, and found at Abingdon with some Roman second brass coins.

Mr. H. Fentiman.—A silver medal awarded for the study of sleeping sickness, bearing the bust of the late F. M. G. Tullock, R.A.M.C.

Mr. H. W. Taffs.—A third-brass coin of Carausius found at Basingstoke.

Mr. Samuel Page.—A silver half-gros of Henry IV. found at Sturton-le-Steeple, Notts.



SILVER HALF-GROS OF HENRY IV.

Mr. S. H. Hamer.—Rare tokens of Cornwall, Lancaster, and Tamworth, which will be illustrated in a future volume.

Papers.

Mr. E. R. H. Hancox described a number of finds, chiefly of cut halfpence and farthings, made at different times on the seashore at Dunwich. Comprised therein were single specimens of cut farthings of William I., of Carlyon-Britton type IV (Hawkins 237) and type VIII (Hawkins 241); a fragment of a penny of Henry I. of Andrew type XI (Hawkins type IV), and cut farthings of the same reign, of Andrew type XIII (Hawkins 265) and Andrew type XIV (Hawkins type 255); cut farthings of Stephen, Hawkins 270 and type 18, and a cut halfpenny of Hawkins 268. The bulk of the finds consisted of pennies, cut halfpence, and cut farthings of the first issue of Henry II. (Hawkins 285); the short-cross issues of Henry II., Richard I., John, and Henry III.; and the various short-cross and long-cross issues of the last-named king. There were present also pence and round halfpence and farthings of Edward I., II., and III.

and a halfpenny of Richard II., in addition to entire and cut coins of William the Lion, and Alexander III. of Scotland. The total number of specimens exhibited, including fragments, was over 300 ; and many other examples are known to have been found. As was to be expected, no indication of the existence of the locally alleged mint at Dunwich was disclosed by coins of the periods represented in these finds.

Major R. P. Jackson dealt with "Coin-Collecting in Mysore," and gave an interesting account of the pleasures and difficulties of coin-collecting from the people and money-changers in that province. He described some 600 coins in his own collection, and distributed them into three groups ; (1) those in circulation before the usurpation of Haidar Ali Khan in 1761, to the number of 161 ; (2) those struck between 1761 and 1799 by Haidar and his son Tipu, to the number of 323 ; (3) the issues of Khrishna Rajah Udaiyar between 1799 and 1843, to the number of 126. In the last-named year the mintage of Mysore coins ceased and the East India Company's pieces were introduced.

Both the above papers appear in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

November 30th, 1908.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., D.L., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING held on October 21st, 1908, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

New Members.

The PRESIDENT read the following certificates for membership and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

Alfred Richard Peacey, Esq.
The Rev. Francis John Eld, M.A., F.S.A.
William Smith Churchill, Esq.
John Cooper, Esq.
Frederic Arthur Sly, Esq.

It was proposed by the PRESIDENT, seconded by Mr. Caldecott, and resolved, that these nominations be balloted for at the next meeting of the Society.

Admission.

Frank T. Kieffer, Esq.

Ballot.

The Ballot for the five candidates proposed for membership on October 21st was held, and the President declared that they had been elected.

The PRESIDENT read the list of Officers of the Society to be voted for at the meeting that evening.

Exhibitions.

The President.—

The gold mancus of Offa, King of Mercia, with silver dirhems of El Mansoor of the year 157 A.H.; and a sou d'or of Louis le Débonnaire for comparison.

Lord Grantley.—

1. An imitation of an early tenth century Hispano-Moorish dinar, with a corrupt Arabic inscription.
2. An imitation by Crusaders of a dinar of El Amir, Fatimee Khalif; died 1130.
- 3 and 4. A silver staurat or drachma and a gold besant both struck by Crusaders at Acre in 1251.
5. A gold dinar of Alfonso VIII. of Castile, struck in 1197.

Nos. 3, 4 and 5 bear Christian inscriptions in Arabic.

Mr. A. H. Baldwin.—

A Portuguese 500 reis piece of 1908 the first coin issued by King Manuel.

Mr. L. L. Fletcher.—

A Belfast penny of 1671 and a 2d. token of the same city of about 1735.

Mr. M. E. Hughes-Hughes.—

A penny of Stephen, *Hawkins*, 270, reverse : * **ADELARD**
: **ON** : **LVN**.

Mr. Edgar Lincoln.—

Specimens of Mysore and colonial East-Indian coins.

Mr. W. C. Wells.—

A cut halfpenny of Henry I. (*Hawkins* 266).

Mr. F. W. Yeates.—

A small leaden medallion of Edward VI.; reverse blank.

The President, on behalf of Mons. Brunn.—

A remarkable silver penny, being a mule of the time of Cnut. Obverse : + CNVT REX ANGLORV, Cnut, *Hawkins* type 212, *Hildebrand* type E. Reverse : Æthelred II., BREHTNO O EOF, York, *Hawkins* type 203, *Hildebrand* type E. It is interesting



PENNY OF CNUT WITH REVERSE OF ÆTHELRED II., YORK MINT.

to note that *Hildebrand* C of Cnut is a mule of obverse, Cnut, *Hawkins* 211, with the same type of reverse as this but apparently of the London mint, as the legend is composed of the moneyer's name, BRVMAN, without any other letters.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

November 30th, 1908.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., D.L., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

The SECRETARY read the Report of the Council for the fifth year since the Inauguration of the Society, as follows :—

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

The Council has the honour to present to the Members its Fifth Annual Report.

On November 30th, 1907, the Society consisted of 19 Royal, 20 Honorary, and 493 Ordinary Members, the total being 532.

Early in February the Society learnt with profound sorrow and horror of the appalling crime which had deprived Portugal of her most gracious and benevolent sovereign, King Carlos, a Royal Member of the Society, and it became the painful duty of your President to convey to Her Majesty Queen Amelia and to His Majesty King Manoel, through the proper channels, the sincere and most respectful condolences of the Society. These communications were both graciously and gratefully acknowledged.

With deep regret the Council also records the decease of the six following Members :—

William Bemrose, Esq., F.S.A.

Harold Clifton, Esq.

Sir Ralph D. M. Littler, Kt., C.B., K.C.

Joshua Brooking Rowe, Esq., F.S.A.

Henry Singleton Threlfall, Esq.

Miss Mary Catherine Wilson.

The Council regrets to announce the resignation of seventeen Members, viz. :—

Mons. Stanilas Emile Bally.
Herbert T. Bloor, Esq., C.A.
Albert Eugster, Esq.
Harcourt Yates Hare, Esq., M.A., LL.B.
Edward Bosworth Harris, Esq.
Emil Julius Kafka, Esq., B.A.
James Kirkaldy, Esq.
Thomas Leighton, Esq.
Arthur Marshall, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.
Archibald Samuel Montgomery, Esq.
William Thomas Paulin, Esq.
James Thomas Taverner Reed, Esq., L.R.C.P.
Sir Owen Roberts, Kt., M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A.
John Roskill, Esq., K.C., M.A.
Henry H. Schloesser, Esq.
Leonard Tubbs, Esq., M.A.
Thomas Robert Way, Esq.,

and eight other Members will, at the Anniversary Meeting, be removed under the provisions of Chapter IV, Section 3, of the Rules.

There has been no change as regards the Honorary Members, the maximum number of twenty having been already elected.

The following twenty-five Ordinary Members have been elected during the year :—

Charles Harold Athill, Esq., F.S.A., Richmond Herald.
Francis William Brothers, Esq.
The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (M. R. James, Esq.,
Litt.D., Director).
Merton Russell Cotes, Esq., F.R.G.S.
Robert Hugh Davis, Esq.
Arthur John Doyle, Esq.
Mons. Felix Feuadent.

Henry Olson Granberg, Esq.
 William Earl Hidden, Esq.
 Albert Fairchild Holden, Esq., B.A.
 James Henry Horsley, Esq.
 Frank T. Kieffer, Esq.
 Gordon Joseph Lane, Esq., B.A., M.D.
 Iltyd Bond Nicholl, Esq., F.S.A.
 Major Sir Harry North, Kt.
 Alfred William Oke, Esq., B.A., LL.M., F.G.S.
 Clement Pain, Esq.
 William Pavyer, Esq.
 Lieut.-Colonel Robert William Shipway, V.D.
 Elliott Smith, Esq.
 South Australia, the Public Library of.
 William Munro Tapp, Esq., B.A., LL.D., F.S.A.
 James Ten Eyck, Esq.
 John Murray Walpole, Esq.
 John Francis Warwick, Esq.

SUMMARY.

	<i>Royal.</i>	<i>Honorary.</i>	<i>Ordinary.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
30th November, 1907 ...	19	20	493	532
Since elected	—	—	25	25
	19	20	518	557
Deceased	1	—	6	7
Resigned	—	—	17	17
Amoved	—	—	8	8
30th November, 1908 ...	18	20	487	525

Again the Society tenders its thanks to Messrs. Upton and Britton for having continued to place the suite of rooms at 43, Bedford Square, at its service.

Mr. Carlyon-Britton has now completed his fifth consecutive year as President of the Society, and under Chapter VII, Section 5, of the Rules, the Council are prohibited from again nominating him for the ensuing year. When Members are reminded that it was due to the energy and personality of Mr. Carlyon-Britton, assisted by the co-operation of his then two colleagues, that this large Society owes its existence, and that throughout the last five years his exceptional knowledge and tact in his office of the Presidency have extended and popularised it far in advance of any similar movement in modern times, it will be readily understood how grateful the Council is for his past service, and how trustful it is that those services will be continued in the future with equal success and prosperity to the Society.

The Council records its acknowledgment of the services of the Editors of the *Journal*, Mr. Carlyon-Britton, Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Andrew. At the request of Mr. Andrew, whose health did not then permit his continuing the duties of routine Editor, Mr. Carlyon-Britton kindly undertook the main part of the work connected with the production of vol. iv, which is now being distributed to the Members of the Society, and which it is hoped will merit in a substantial degree the appreciation accorded to its predecessors.

While congratulating the Treasurer, Mr. R. H. Wood, upon his fifth Report, which affords evidence of his continued careful management of the Society's finances, genuine regret is felt at his decision not to continue in office, a regret, however, that is tempered by a feeling of confidence in the abilities of the gentleman recommended for election as his successor.

It is also felt that the other changes amongst the officers of the Society will not militate against its interests, and that those newly appointed, or transferred to different duties, will successfully endeavour to emulate and surpass in good results the efforts of their predecessors.

The Society is happy in the retention of the services of Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson as its Librarian. His department has continued to

increase in usefulness, and it is the pleasant duty of the Council to tender to him its thanks for having placed at its disposal two well made and glazed oak bookcases.

Its thanks are also heartily bestowed on Fleet-Surgeon Weightman, R.N., one of the prospective Secretaries, for his gift of a lantern and screen for the illustration of those papers which lend themselves to pictorial treatment.

The Royal Autograph Album made and presented to the Society by Mr. T. A. Carlyon, has now received the autograph signatures of all the Royal Members, including that of the late King of Portugal, the book having been returned to London on the day following his melancholy and ever to be deplored assassination.

The papers read to the Society during this session have maintained its reputation, and the exhibitions of coins, medals, and other objects of antiquity have been both numerous and interesting.

The Council gratefully acknowledges the presentations made to the Library and collections of the Society, and offers its thanks both to the donors and to the exhibitors.

In order that the number of its Members may be continued at full strength, the Council asks for the active assistance and co-operation of individual Members in the introduction of suitable candidates for election to membership, in order that the good numismatic work of the Society may become even more widely extended than has hitherto been the case, and that the quality and quantity of its contributions to numismatic science may be adequately maintained.

The Report was received with applause by the Members present. It was moved by Mr. CALDECOTT, seconded by Miss FARQUHAR, and resolved, that the same be received and adopted.

Ballot for the Election of Officers and Council for 1909.

The PRESIDENT declared the Ballot open from 8.15 p.m. to 8.45, and with the approval of the meeting nominated Mr. W. Carlyon-Britton and Mr. L. J. Acton Pile as Scrutators. The votes having

been examined by the Scrutators they reported to the Chairman, who announced that the large number of Members who had voted were, with one or two exceptions, in favour of the election of the Officers and Members of the Council as set out in the balloting list.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

SESSION 1909.

President.

W. J. ANDREW, ESQ., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents.

G. R. ASKWITH, ESQ., M.A., K.C.

SIR FREDERICK D. DIXON-HARTLAND, BART., M.P., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL EGERTON OF TATTON, M.A.

THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD GRANTLEY, F.S.A., D.L., J.P.

L. A. LAWRENCE, ESQ., F.R.C.S., F.R.S.A. (IRELAND).

BERNARD ROTH, ESQ., F.S.A., J.P.

Director.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L., J.P.

Hon. Treasurer.

W. H. FOX, ESQ., F.S.A.

Hon. Librarian.

LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, R.A.

Secretaries.

BERNARD ROTH, ESQ., F.S.A., J.P.

FLEET-SURGEON A. E. WEIGHTMAN, R.N.

Council.

ALFRED ANSCOMBE, ESQ., F.R.Hist.S.

P. J. D. BALDWIN, ESQ.

THOMAS BEARMAN, ESQ.

S. BOUSFIELD, ESQ., M.A., M.B.

LIONEL L. FLETCHER, ESQ.

SHIRLEY FOX, ESQ., R.B.A.

MAJOR WILLIAM J. FREER, V.D., F.S.A.
WILLOUGHBY GARDNER, ESQ., F.L.S.
ROBERT A. INGLIS, ESQ., B.A.
PHILIP NELSON, ESQ., M.D., CH.B.
W. SHARP OGDEN, ESQ.
MAX ROSENHEIM, ESQ., F.S.A.
SAMUEL M. SPINK, ESQ.
EDWARD UPTON, ESQ., F.Z.S.
RUSSELL H. WOOD, ESQ., A.C.A.

Treasurer's Report.

The TREASURER read the Balance Sheet for the past financial year and distributed copies of the same to Members present, and also read the Auditors' certificate at the foot of the same, certifying that the accounts had been audited and found correct.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by Mr. FITCH, and resolved that the Treasurer's accounts be adopted.

CHAPTER IV, SECTION 3, OF THE RULES.

The PRESIDENT read the names of Members who had failed to pay their subscriptions for 1907, and made an entry of their amoval against their names in the Register of the Society, in accordance with Chapter IV, Section 3, of the Rules.

Papers.

The President read a paper on "The Gold Mancus of Offa, King of Mercia," a celebrated coin which he acquired by purchase in 1907. This coin is held to be a remarkably good copy of a Mussulman dinar made by a workman whose ignorance of Arabic is indicated by the significant fact that the words OFFA REX were inserted in the field of the reverse in an inverted position in relation to the Cufic inscription. The Anglo-Saxon style of the letters of this addition to the original design, and the use of pellets on the coin, unquestionably point to England as the country of its origin. The coin is dated in the year 157 of the Hejira = A.D. 774, and the last Offa who ruled in Anglian

Britain was the king who was reigning over Mercia in that very year. Mr. Carlyon-Britton explained that King Offa's imitation of the dinar is to be assigned not to that year, however, but to A.D. 786, in which an important synod of the English Church was held at Cealchyth, whereat King Offa promised the legates of Pope Adrian I. that he would send 365 mancuses to Rome every year as alms for the poor, and for the supply of candles for the Church. In proof of this the letter of Pope Leo III., who died in 816, to King Coenwulf, who succeeded Offa's son in 796, was adduced, and the phrase, "quod et fecit" therein was relied upon also as proving that King Offa kept his promise, and sent the 365 pieces. Attention was given by the lecturer to the economic questions connected with the term "mancus," and he decided that, though the mancus was essentially money of account in Anglo-Saxon times, and was not an Anglo-Saxon coin of circulation, it was nevertheless known as an actual piece of money in this country, and also in other western states which had no gold coinage of their own. This, it was demonstrated, came about through trade with gold-coining Mohammedan countries; and the interesting fact that the Anglo-Saxon word *mancus* was a loan-word borrowed from Arabic, in which *mankoush* means "coined," i.e., "struck to serve as money," was again recognized and adduced. The value of Mr. Carlyon-Britton's elucidation of his subject was enhanced by translations of Arabic inscriptions on coins of early dates, and by a map showing the gold-coining countries of the eighth century, which were made and drawn by Lord Grantley.

Herr Haakon Schetelig, the Curator of the Bergen Museum, contributed, through Dr. Auden, an interesting paper on a coin of Offa recently disinterred from a grave-mound of the Viking age near Voss, Norway.

Both the above papers will be found in the pages of this volume.

Towards the close of the proceedings the Rev. Dr. Cox, F.S.A. moved that the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Carlyon-Britton on his retiring from office after filling the chair for five years the limit prescribed by the rules of the Society. Dr. Cox, in referring

to the services of Mr. Carlyon-Britton, said that the success of the movement set on foot by him and his colleagues in 1903—a movement which has resulted in a Society of 500 members, and the publication of four volumes comprising over 2,000 pages—was remarkable and unparalleled, and was largely due to the skill, tact, and judgment of the retiring President.

PRESENTATION TO MR. CARLYON-BRITTON.

When the close of Mr. Carlyon-Britton's fifth year of office as President approached, and it was remembered that the Rules prohibited the Council from nominating the same President for six consecutive years, there arose a very marked and general feeling amongst the members that some recognition of his services to the Society, as its first President and chief founder, should be made. Various suggestions were received as to the form this recognition should take, but the scheme under Col. Morrieson's guidance at once assumed proportions which enabled him, with the approval of the recipient, to commission Mr. Shirley Fox, R.B.A., a member of the Society, to paint Mr. Carlyon-Britton's portrait for presentation to him on behalf of the Society.

Although limited to a nominal sum the subscriptions came in so readily and so promptly from the members generally, that not only was the cost of the painting, its frame and tablet defrayed, but a balance has been handed over to the treasurer of the Society.

The presentation was made at the Ordinary Meeting of the Society held on June 23rd, 1909, but it was thought that the proceedings should be published in this volume whilst the interest taken in the matter is fresh in mind.

The following is the stenographer's report :—

Wednesday, June 23rd, 1909.

W. J. ANDREW, ESQ., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

THE PRESIDENT :—

Mr. Carlyon-Britton, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think we are gathered together to-night on, perhaps, the most pleasant occasion we have experienced since the inauguration of the Society, now nearly six years ago; that is the presentation of a portrait of himself to Mr. Carlyon-Britton not only as our first President but especially as the chief founder of this Society. I believe that it is exactly six years ago to-day since a momentous journey was undertaken by Mr. Carlyon-Britton, Mr. Lawrence and myself; for it was on that occasion that Mr. Carlyon-Britton first propounded the then seemingly preposterous proposition: "Let us have an all-British Society." We were on our way to Winchester on one of our usual archæological excursions, and the proposition when it came upon us seemed to us so abnormal that we hesitated, and I am afraid that I, for one, shook my head. I told him that long ago Mr. Sharp Ogden and I had discussed the possibility of an all-British numismatic society, but then all we could see ahead of us was perhaps a hundred members, and financially on a hundred members it would have been quite impossible to run a journal worthy of the subject. But Mr. Carlyon-Britton at once replied, "Well, I am sure that I can get two hundred at least off my own bat," so Mr. Lawrence and I undertook to act as Government—Opposition, if you like—Whips to our leader. That really was the dawn of the British Numismatic Society, and it was only six years ago this month. Obstacles there were to be faced, of course; we expected them. More than one Remus jumped over our walls, but Mr. Carlyon-Britton was a strong man, and our walls continued to grow higher and higher, until now you who are here to-night know what the result of his hard work and strenuous energy has been. It was certainly an opportune moment. I think that the strides education has made in the last few years have been vast, and have ripened society for the

indulgence in a science such as ours, a science which is so closely wrapped up with the history of ourselves and the history of our nation. We took full advantage of this and our efforts were responded to in the most cordial manner throughout the country and our dominions beyond it. But, let me tell you that when some of you numismatic pioneers joined us and a well-known name came in, so welcome was your assistance at that time, that we even telegraphed to each other the results of the canvass, and I think if you will look in the returns for 1903, so vast was our correspondence, that it was actually a record year for the Post Office.

Of course, Mr. Carlyon-Britton was well known in numismatics at that time, but it has been a significant fact that with the advance of our Society his knowledge and learning have more than kept pace with the times, until with general consent they have placed him at the head of the British numismatic world; and thanks to him in a very great measure indeed, our *Journal* has become the vehicle of numismatic knowledge on British subjects. We owe to him the elucidation of many of the problems which were puzzling us only a few years ago. You know that he has disclosed the nucleus—an entirely unthought-of nucleus of a coinage by the early princes of Wales; you know that he has discovered, or re-opened if you like, mint after mint, such as Berkeley, Christchurch, Pembroke and Ythancæster, the Roman fort in Essex, also others which for the moment have slipped my memory, for they flow in a constant stream; you know that he is engaged, at present, on what is and will be the standard work of the early Norman coinage of the Conqueror and his successor; you know that he has settled the problem of whether or not there was a local coinage in Cornwall in Saxon and Norman times; and I may say, as an evidence of the power of his pen, that only last year the Royal Institution of Cornwall awarded to him their triennial gold medal; that is, the medal which is given for the best paper published on scientific subjects affecting the county of Cornwall during the three current years, and that medal was earned by our late President for a paper which you have no doubt read in vol. iii of the *Journal*. As to the courtesy of his demeanour, you see that day by day, and have seen it year after

year, when he is in the Chair and when he is out of it. It is perhaps in a great measure to that courtesy that the Society owes the unanimity of its brotherhood, because I think in no Society do Members meet and talk so freely and vent their views so readily, and with so little hesitation, as they do in this room ; and I am sure it is my wish, and the wish of all of you, that never will come the time when anyone will hesitate to get up and propound a theory, however heterodox it may be, simply because he thinks he may be laughed at ; let us have no hesitation and let us have no whisperings.

Before I finish speaking of our late President and his influence, there is another matter so closely connected with ourselves that, perhaps, I ought to have put it first, that is, that we are also indebted to the loyal support that Mrs. Carlyon-Britton has always given her husband ; and I may say that many a Meeting, almost every Meeting, has been brightened by her presence. She is one who is fit to adorn any position that her husband now or in the future may occupy, and I hope whenever we see Mr. Carlyon-Britton here we shall also see him accompanied by his wife and family. I even regret that her portrait is not beside him in the picture I shall presently have the pleasure of unveiling.

Now all the numismatic work that our late President has undertaken, and that I have mentioned, has been done in the last five years ; and, really, it is a surprising fact that all was done when he was also bearing the routine work of the Society. He had his own Presidential work, and he had also, and has to-day, the routine of work of this Society ; yet last year when I was suffering indisposition he also undertook the editorial work. How it is possible for one man to do so much in a given time I do not know ; for my part I think the editorial work is quite sufficient for one man to do. I daresay the routine work is even more tedious and requires more time and attention. We have to thank him also and his partner, our good friend Mr. Upton, for having placed at our disposal throughout all this time the beautiful suite of rooms that we occupy. We come here and enjoy them just as if they were ours, but I think we do not forget that we are indebted to Mr. Carlyon-Britton and his partner for their use. That means a

great deal ; it means that it enables us to put nearly the whole of our large revenue into our *Journal*. We know what a costly matter a journal is, and you know that our *Journal* has thereby reaped considerable advantage, an advantage that I hope it will always maintain. Having spoken as I have of Mr. Carlyon-Britton you will sympathize, I am sure, with my personal feelings when suddenly I found that the cloak of Elijah, the President, was thrown from his shoulders upon mine. To follow a strong man like Mr. Carlyon-Britton is no easy task, and I assure you that the garment did not fit, I was too small for it, and I feel to-night very much too small for it—not only theoretically but practically ; but I do hope that some day that garment will go back to its owner and that it will then be unshrunk. Now, I must turn to the picture which I am about to unveil.

THE PRESIDENT then unveiled the picture amid applause, and continued : You will grant that true portraiture is true art, and here we have, I think you will all agree with me, true portraiture. In the old days, you know, the painter was expected to paint to please his model. Miss Farquhar tells us that Queen Elizabeth objected to any shades being cast upon her face in her portraits, because they were not actually there. Powder may have been there, but shades, she said, were not. Oliver Cromwell, on the other hand, with the true spirit of Art, insisted that the wart upon his nose had as much right to a prominent position in the picture as had the nose itself. There he was right. But sometimes it comes hard upon the artist. I remember being present at the presentation of his portrait to a well-known Mayor, and I am sorry to say that Nature had left his features very much in the rough. Now the portrait was good, and everyone eulogized it and the artist, and everybody commented upon what a speaking likeness it was of his Worship. At last it came to the poor old Mayor's turn to respond, and turning sadly to the picture he said, " Yes, if only it could have been a speaking likeness and reproduce what I say and not what I am, it would have been better for the community ; but I must admit that it is a wonderful portrait because it is almost as ugly as I am." I think we need not lament because we have here, not only a speaking likeness, but a likeness that will speak for itself.

I now turn to my friend, Mr. Carlyon-Britton, and say :—Mr. Carlyon-Britton, I have the honour on behalf of the British Numismatic Society to present to you this portrait of yourself as a token of the Society's appreciation of the work you have done in its interests, and to combine with it the unanimous wish of every Member that you may long live to continue that good work and to further the interests of the Society which you have led to its present phenomenal success.

MR. CARLYON-BRITTON, who was received with continued applause :—

Mr. President and Dear Old Friends,—I thank you very sincerely for all the good things you have said in most courteous terms about, I fear, my unworthy self. I thank you one and all, most of you my old friends, many of you friends that I hope in time will become old friends, for the kindly way in which you have received the very eulogistic remarks that the President has been good enough to make in reference to my numismatic work. I do feel that the Society has made very great progress and has done very excellent work, but I do not take upon myself the large share of credit in respect of those matters that Mr. Andrew has been good enough in his unselfish way to attribute to me. The work of the Society has been done with the very loyal support of all those principally concerned in its formation. In its origin, no one took a greater interest than Mr. Andrew. With him my old friend, Mr. Lawrence, was eminently associated, and I am happy to say not only did they take an interest in the matter and in its incipency, but both of them have continued to take an interest in the matter which I hope will grow rather than recede in the coming years.

Those two names I mention as those of the two who were associated with me in the very early days of the Society ; in fact, we used to talk of ourselves as the *Triumvirate*. Of course, that is not exactly a British term, but it conveyed our meaning ; but now if one were to try to invent a term it would be very difficult to get, and I should say one would have to borrow another Roman term, that is "*legion*," and call ourselves a legion of loyal soldiers, soldiers who are capable of advancing the cause that they have at heart. And although in our early days

there were certain people whose traditions did not enable them to see, perhaps, truly the position that we took up, that is, that more attention to the numismatics associated with our own great country, associations of countries, and indeed Empire, was required. But now, I think, it is fully recognized that that narrow view was a mistake, and that there is ample room in London and still more in England, and still more so in the great British Empire for more than one Society to unravel the numerous records, numerous historical circumstances, numerous facts that in many cases lie buried in our records unread, unconsidered, that deal not only with the coinage of the country, but also with the history of the great people to which all here present, or nearly all here present, have the honour to belong.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not think that the British Numismatic Society requires any sort of an apology, but to those of the general public who are yet unacquainted with the light that we endeavour to throw upon the subject, I think it is a convenient opportunity to explain that our desire is to promote numismatic science, and particularly British numismatic science, to its fullest possible extent, and to educate those who are still remaining in ignorance on the subject, with the real importance that can be got out of a proper study of a science that if taken as a mere matter of collecting would be a very poor thing indeed. We do not take the little impressed discs of metal that we are so much interested in merely as little bits of metal, either of gold, silver or copper, but we try to clothe the history of those pieces by associating with them the circumstances in which they were produced, the histories not only of the countries, of the kings and of the moneyers, but also of the towns and the localities in which they were manufactured. Now, as compared with the very popular amusement of the day, stamp-collecting, let us look at numismatics. Stamp-collecting has a limit. There is a very large number of stamps, but stamps were only started in the reign of our late Queen Victoria, and fairly late in that reign as to many of the countries that now use them. But numismatics even in this country, in Great Britain, go back, at a moderate estimate, to 150 years B.C., and all those coins were issued by authority, either by the king or by some very important person indeed,

and in many instances the names of those kings and potentates are only preserved to us to-day by the circumstance that their names have been recorded upon the coins that are, in effect, imperishable monuments of British history. Think of these words, Ladies and Gentlemen! Just think of the possibilities of our pursuit! And if you think of them for a very short time, you will see that the views of any scoffers who regard the pursuit as trivial are most ill-placed.

I fear that I have, perhaps, on this occasion, as on many another, wearied you by telling you things that you would, doubtless, tell me you know already; I feel that many of these important numismatic truths are very evident to you all, so I will not further trespass upon your time except by saying this—that the very best testimonial that you can give to me, to our President, or to any of the members of the Council of this Society, is to continue the good work that you have started; not to draw back, not to get tired, but to continue not only to do good work yourselves, but to spread the light of your knowledge amongst those who hitherto have not received so full a portion of enlightenment.

In conclusion I thank your President, I thank all of you, and in particular those of you who subscribed to this pleasing memorial of myself, most sincerely for your more than generous appreciation of my efforts in a cause I love. As to whether I shall take the view of the Mayor who was quoted or not, I do not know—("No!")—but I am afraid the picture is rather like me, and I congratulate the artist on having produced a good representation of a somewhat poor original. And with those words, and again thanking you most sincerely, I will relieve you from further trouble in reference to my very verbose condition.

MAJOR FREER:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It gives me great pleasure, Mr. President, to obey your commands, but I can only imagine the reason you have appealed to me to carry them out is because I have had some experience as an Honorary Secretary and Treasurer of various Funds in my own county of Leicester. We all

here know that the money, however freely given, for this splendid portrait of our late President could not have been got together without an immense amount of hard work and correspondence on the part of somebody, and I am sure you will all feel that we could not part to-night without expressing our most hearty thanks to Col. Morrieson, for the great amount of time and trouble that he has expended in carrying this work to such a successful conclusion. I therefore now beg most heartily to move :—

“That our best thanks be given to Col. Morrieson for the duties he has undertaken and performed as our Treasurer and Secretary of this testimonial.”

MR. STROUD :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—You have called upon me without my having had the smallest notion that you would put that honour upon me. All I can do is to say that I most heartily agree with every word that has been said by Major Freer in recognition of the services Col. Morrieson so ably rendered to us all, and I am quite sure I could not say anything so well myself. I will therefore simply add that I second with the utmost possible cordiality the vote that has been so well and so suitably proposed this evening by our friend.

The Resolution on being put to the Meeting was carried with acclamation.

COL. MORRIESON :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is very good of you to applaud me in this nice way, but I can assure you that the labour that I undertook was no trouble ; it was a labour of love ; and I am sure that anything I could do to show the respect which we have for our President, as he was at the time this movement was started, and to prove to him how we appreciate his efforts to bring the Society into the state at which it has arrived, was really no trouble nor difficulty to me.

If I may begin with the genesis of the matter, it arose from a

discussion as to how we could mark our appreciation of the work of the President during the five years he had occupied that position. It was first of all suggested that we should have a dinner. Well, a dinner is very nice ; we should have met, we should have dined, wined, talked, and presently gone away, and after the feeling of dyspepsia in the morning had passed, it would all have been forgotten. So it was thought that some lasting memorial should be given to our first President in order that he might have something to look at when the toil of the day was done, that he might turn round in his dining-room or drawing-room,—or wherever he may be pleased to place this portrait of himself,—and look at it and say, “ At any rate, whatever I have done for the British Numismatic Society has been appreciated, and the Members have presented me with this ” ; and therefore he would have some tangible object to show that his services had been appreciated.

Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, as you know, I issued a circular to you, and I can assure you that it was responded to with alacrity. There were Members who wished to give more than the amount I asked, but I thought we should require a certain amount of money and I thought that we should get it. It came in, and I have received more than the actual cost of the portrait.

Well, looking back to December when these circulars were sent out, it grieved me when referring to the list the other day to see how many have been called or have travelled to that bourne from whence no traveller returns. You also would be really grieved to know how many of the subscribers are no longer with us. Amongst the latest to go was Mr. Cary-Elwes, who wrote to me two or three letters on this subject, full of energy, full of agreement with the object, and it is a very sad thing that before this portrait could be presented he is no longer here. Among others who have passed away is our good friend, Mr. Hilton Price. There was also the Hon. F. Strutt who by return of post wrote a very laudatory letter of our first President, heartily endorsing the proposition of subscribing to his portrait. Amongst others there was Mr. Mallalieu, of Derby ; and there were some others, but I will not go through their names because it is a sad

thing. Anyhow, it shows, Ladies and Gentlemen, how very enthusiastically and how very sympathetically the appeal for support of this testimonial was received. I can assure you it was really marvellous, and it was very pleasing to me to get these letters, and to note the very rapid way in which the money was sent in.

Passing from that, I am pleased to say that after we have settled the bill for this picture there will be a small balance over. I propose, subject to your consent, that whatever is over shall be handed to the Society to enable it to reproduce as a frontispiece for our *Proceedings* in vol. v of our *Journal* a copy of this excellent portrait, so that every member when he receives his volume will have a picture of our revered Ex-President. I must also say that our artist is Mr. Shirley Fox, whom we all know so well, and who has recently so ably explained the construction of mediæval dies and the methods by which numismatic portraits were constructed. It was a delight to ask him to undertake the commission, and you can see what a labour of love he has thrown into it. I have been to his studio on various occasions, and the interest and the desire on his part to achieve a good portrait of his model were very charming to see. His desire was that we should give Mr. Carlyon-Britton of the best, and it lies with you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to say whether he has done so. Personally, I congratulate Mr. Fox on his work, and trust that he may live long to do many others. Ladies and Gentlemen, I have talked to you a great deal, and I am much obliged to you for your vote of thanks.

MR. SHIRLEY FOX :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is very kind of you to ask me to say a word. I am really very glad just to have an opportunity of thanking you all most cordially for the kind way in which you have received the picture, and I should also like to say, while I have the chance, how very much pleasure it gave me to paint it. When Col. Morrieson asked me whether I should be prepared to paint our late President I naturally was only too delighted. I am afraid that the sittings may have been somewhat of a trial to Mr. Carlyon-Britton. I used to drag him away from his work here down to Kensington in

the fog, when he did not want to come, and we had some rather bad times. If we could not paint, which happened more than once, we could talk about coins, and so our time was not altogether wasted. Therefore, the painting of the picture was not only a pleasure to me, but I think we may say that in a small way it was a slight advancement of numismatics. I do not think I need add any more, but I am sure I am deeply grateful for the kind words which I have listened to this evening, and I beg to thank you all most heartily.

THE PRESIDENT read the following letter from Sir Frederick Dixon-Hartland :—

14, CHESHAM PLACE, S.W.,

June 21st, 1909.

Dear Mr. Carlyon-Britton,

I write to say how very much annoyed I am that in consequence of the Budget discussion in the House of Commons I am unable to be present at the presentation of your portrait on the 23rd June, which I should otherwise have certainly attended as I am one who fully appreciates how much you have done for British Numismatics and how thoroughly you deserve the honour bestowed upon you.

If in order, I should be glad if the Secretary would read this acknowledgment to the Meeting.

Yours very truly,

F. D. DIXON-HARTLAND.

With reference to Col. Morrieson's suggestion that the portrait should be reproduced in the papers of this volume, Mr. Carlyon-Britton writes :—

Whilst I sincerely appreciate the compliment offered to me, or to my portrait, by Col. Morrieson's suggestion, I feel that the personal element should, so far as possible, be eliminated from the scope of our *Journal*. Its pages are for the advancement of numismatic science, and a modern portrait does not come within that category. I trust, therefore, that the members will bear with me if I prefer to remain "an unpublished type."

The British Numismatic Society.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT, 1908.

DR.										CR.
	<i>Expenditure.</i>						<i>Income.</i>			
	£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.	
To printing and binding the 1907 <i>Journal</i> , including contributors' reprints, plates and blocks, estimated at	421	4	0				By subscriptions received and due	497	16	0
„ printing and stationery...	35	0	5				„ admission fees	22	1	0
„ postages...	23	17	4				„ amounts received compounding subscriptions	45	0	0
„ casts of coins	11	13	6				„ dividends on Consols and interest on bank deposit ...	18	12	0
„ fee to clerk to Council...	10	10	0				„ 1906 <i>Journal</i> . Cost over-estimated in 1907	9	15	2
„ expenses of Meetings and refreshments	12	0	0							
„ printing reports of Meetings ...	6	12	3							
„ sundry expenses	2	17	8							
Total expenditure ...	523	15	2							
„ balance, being surplus of income over expenditure for the year...	69	9	0							
	£593	4	2					£593	4	2

BALANCE SHEET, 18th November, 1908.

DR.										CR.
	£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.	
To sundry accounts owing...	371	0	10				By Consols, £500 stock at cost ...	440	11	9
„ subscriptions received in advance	6	6	0				„ subscriptions and admission fees due but not yet received ...	36	17	0
„ accumulated fund, balance 1907							„ library, cost	68	3	3
£466 1s. od.							„ cash at bankers...	367	4	10
Surplus of income over expenditure, 1908 ...	£69	9s. od.	535	10	0					
	£912	16	10					£912	16	10

R. H. WOOD, *Treasurer.*

We, the Auditors appointed to audit the accounts of the above Society, hereby certify that all our requirements as auditors have been complied with, and report to the Members that we have examined and compared the above accounts with the books and vouchers of the Society, and in our opinion they are properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs, as shown by the books of the Society.

26th November, 1908.

ARTHUR G. CHIFFERIEL, F.C.A.
ALEXR. C. HUTCHINS, A.C.A.

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INDEX.

A.

A, on the peculiarity of the capital, in Briot's work, 204, 208.

Abbasside Dynasty, find of Cufic money of the Khalifeehs of the, at Cuerdale, 60, 61.

" " find of dirhems of the, at Goldborough, Yorks, 62.

'Abd'alla Qutb, Shah of Golconda, coins of, 284.

Aberystwith mint of Charles I., 204, 205.

Abingdon Chronicle, the, and the *Menology* that precedes its annals, 398.

" find of a copper coin of Granada at, 443, 444.

Abjad, system of cyclic years, 311.

Abtas, " " " " 311.

Acheson, James, Master of the Mint for Scotland, 170.

Acre mint of Louis IX., 71.

Admiralty Office, seal made by Simon for the, 245.

Adrian I., Offa's vow to Pope, 63, 64, 455.

Ælfred the Great, sends alms to Rome, and to India to St. Thomas and to St. Bartholomew, 66.

" " " shillings of, probably derived from the Arabic dirhem, 62.

" " " crown of, 363, 367.

" " " coins of, 77, 100, 120, 363, 364, 367, 368.

" " " cut half of an "offering penny" of, found at Goldborough, 62.

" " " largesilver coins of, 62.

Ælfric, Archbishop, records the value of the gold mancus, 57.

Ælfthryth, daughter of Offa, 83.

Ærarium, the, 5.

Æs grave, the, 3.

Æs rude, the, 3.

" " and *æs signatum*, amalgam of, 30.

Æs signatum, the, 3.

Æthelberht, King of East Anglia, comparison of the coins of Offa with those of, 75.

" a penny of, 73-84.

" killed by Offa, 79.

" moneyer's name and name of sovereign on coins of, 74.

" death of, 80 *et seq.*

" reasons for the attribution of a penny to, 80.

" " " supposing the coins of, to be genuine, 77-79.

" prototype for the reverse of penny of, 75, 76.

" Runic letters on coin of, 74.

" seeks the hand of one of Offa's daughters in marriage, 81, 83.

" son of Æthelred and Læofrūn, 80.

" II., King of Kent, 79, 80.

" King of Sussex, no coins known of, 79.

Æthelheard, Archbishop of Canterbury, 64.

Æthelraed and Edward the Confessor, gold pieces of, 69.

" II., coins of, 92, 97, 103, 106, 111, 113, 121, 369.

" " " " incorrectly assigned to Bardney, 97.

- Æthelraed II., gold piece of, struck at Lewes, 69, 70.
 " " reference to the laws of, 67.
 " " York mint, penny of Cnut with reverse of, 447.
 Æthelred of Mercia, coins of, 76, 84.
 " succeeds Beorna, 80, 81.
 Æthelstan and his brother Eadmund defeat Anlaf and Constantine at Brunanburh, 89.
 " assumed the kingdom of the Northumbrians, 88.
 " coins of, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 100, 108, 111, 120, 365-367, 378, 380.
 " " " portraiture on, 366, 367.
 " Colchester under the Laws of, 116.
 " Exeter, mentioned in the Laws of, 100.
 " Laws of, make no mention of the mint of Maldon, 120.
 " marries his sister to Sihtric, 89, 365.
 " ravages part of Scotland, 89.
 " the Laws of, specified two moneyers for Dorchester, but no coins of Æthelstan are known for that mint, 106.
 " to Eadgar, Chester mint from, and the use of M for Mercia, 87.
 Æthelraed = Æthelred, 76.
 Æthelwulf goes to Rome, 66.
 Afzal-ad-daulah, coins of 271, 272.
 Agricola effects the pacification of all Britain as far as the Humber, 41, 48, 49.
 Ahmad Shah, coins of, 281, 283.
 " II., Alá-ud-din, coin of, 266.
 Ahmadnagar, 282.
 Ahsanabad mint of Firoz Shah, 281.
 Akbar, coins of, current in the Deccan, 265, 267.
 " copper dams, etc., of, 277, 278, 280.
 " Malwa, issues of, 283.
 " II., coins of, 273, 274.
 Akerman, J. Y., on the Gold Mancus, 58, 59.
 Alam II. Shah, coins of, 280.
 Alamgir II., coins of, 279.
 Alá-ud-din, Ahmad II., coin of, 266, 281.
 Ala-ud-din, Hasan Shah Gangu Bahman, coins of, 280.
 " " " Hasan Shah Gangu Bahman, King, 281, 282.
 " " " Mas'aud Shah, coins of, 275.
 " " " Muhammad Shah, coins of, 275, 276.
 'Alau'-d'-din, coins of, 268.
 " " " Emperor of Delhi captures Daulatabad, 268.
 "Albion," "Emperor of," etc., Edgar assumes the title of, 368.
 Alcuin, concerning the date of the death of, 385.
 Alexander II., the Pope, reminds William I., of the yearly pension sent to Rome, 66.
 " III. of Scotland, cut halfpennies of, 131, 445.
 Alfdene, *see* Halfdan, 77.
 Alfonso VIII., of Castile, coins of, 70, 71, 446.
 Alfred, *see* Ælfred.
 Ali Asaf Jah, coins of, 271.
 Allahabad mint of Akbar, 277.
 Allectus, C on coins of, 115.
 Althorp, portrait of Oliver Cromwell at, 224.
 Altrington, George, 221.
 Alwar state, 285.
 Amber beads in a tumulus in Norway, 51.
 Amelia of Portugal, Her Majesty Queen, letter of condolence to, and acknowledgment of same, 419, 420, 448.
 America, United States of, gold coins of, 421, 435.
 American Numismatic and Archaeological Society, donation of book by, 416.
 Ammianus and the pontifical calendar, 389.
 Anastasius, similarity of garment worn by the Emperor, with that worn by Alfred, 364.
 Anderson, Joseph, on the finds of Eastern coins and ornaments, 61, 62.
 Andhra coins, 274.
 Andreas, Isle of Man, find of coins, *temp.* 10th century at, 85.
 ANDREW, W. J., F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*:—
 Evolution of Portraiture on the Silver Penny, 361-380.
 The Coinage of the reign of Stephen, 439, 440.

- Andrew, W. J., *Coins and how to know them*, reviewed by, 409.
 " " " and the existence of a mint at Durham before the Conquest, 113.
 " " " exhibits by, 438.
 Angel of James I. and its parts, 148, 149.
 "Angelus" word sometimes used to connote the *Nundinae*, 385.
 Anglo-Gallic coins, etc., 435.
 Anglo-Saxon coins, 435.
 " " " found in the Isle of Man, 85 *et seq.*
 " " " found in the house of the Vestals at Rome, find of, 73, 74.
 " " Computation of Historic Time in the Ninth Century, 381-407.
 " " names of the months, 398, 399.
 Anlaf and Constantine defeated by Æthelstan and his brother Eadmund at Brunanburh, 89.
 " penny of, struck at Derby, 85-96.
 " Sihtricsson, coins of, 86, 87, 89.
 " son of Sihtric, 88, 89.
 Anne, Queen, farthing, pattern of, 419.
 " " medallions of, with portrait of Charles I., 202.
 " " The Bronze Coinage of, 419.
 " " of Denmark, 158.
 " " " " a miniature of, 164.
 " " " " representation of, 225.
 " " " " jewels of, 166.
 Annulet on the king's breast on coin of Edward I., 136.
 " stops, double, on coins of Edward III., 138.
 " the so-called, on the shoulder of busts on coins, 367.
 Annulets, chain of, on coins of Edward III., 139.
 " on a penny of Æthelstan and their probable origin, 365.
Annus vagus, or receding year, 392.
 ANSCOMBE, ALFRED, F.R.Hist. Soc., *Hon. Sec.* :—
 The Anglo-Saxon Computation of Historic Time in the Ninth Century, 381-407.
 Anscombe, Alfred, donation of drawing by Miss Anscombe, 417.
 " " translation of Offa's vow by, 64, 65.
 Anthony, Charles, 214, 221.
 " " extracts from warrants to, 148, 149.
 " " graver of the mint and seals, 147, 148, 149, 150, 162, 163.
 " " master workman of the king's money, 149.
 " Derick, graver of the mint and seals, 147, 148.
 Antioch under Tancred, coin attributed to Bohemund I. of, 72.
 Antonines, debasement of the coinage under the, 17, 31, 45.
 " Britain and the coinage of the, 32.
Antoniniani, 24, 27, 28.
 Antoninus Pius, Roman dies used in Britain under, 33.
 " " fine currency of, 22, 44.
 " " to Postumus, find of, forgeries of coins ranging from, 27.
 " " visits Britain, 42.
 Anvil used in minting coins, description of, 11.
 Aquileia, mint of Constantine II. and Constans, 27.
 Arabic inscriptions on coins issued by Crusaders, 70.
 " legend on the coin of Offa, 65.
 Architectural designs on pennies in the Saxon series, 365.
 Arguin, Phœnician emigrants and, 37.
 Arles, mint of, Constantine II. and Constans, 27.
 Arminyah mint, 60.
 Armour on early coins, 371, 376.
 " on coins of James I., 168, 169.
 Artibri, tin obtained in, 34.
 Arundel, Earl of, 201.
 " statue of Charles I., 200.
 " Sussex, Cufic coins found at, 61.
As, the, 3.
 " and its divisions, 3, 4.
 Asoph Jah, coins of, 270.
 Astley, Rev. Dr. H. J. Dukinfield, exhibits by, 434.

- Atbara, medal for service on the, 436.
 Athelstan, *see* Æthelstan.
 Athelstan II., Bishop, and the relics of St. Æthelberht, 82, 83.
 "Attempted Union" (between England and Scotland) medal of James I., 161, 162.
 AUDEN, G. A., F.S.A., communicates an article by Haakon Schetelig on a coin of Offa found at Voss, 51-54, 455.
 Augustan months, the Julian and, 389-391.
 Augustus and the Roman Calendar, 389.
 " coinage of, 4, 5, 44.
 " to Hadrian, flans of coins from, 15.
 Aulus Plautius and Britain, 41.
 Auranzébe, coins of, current in the Deccan, 265, 277, 278.
 " Mogul Emperor, 268.
 Aurungabad mint, 269, 273, 277.
 " the capital of the Deccan, 268, 273.
 Avienus, Rufius Festus, the poet, 387.
 Aylesbury mint, 410.
 Azal, the cyclic year, 304.
- B.
- Bacon, Francis, portrait of, on a silver gilt box, 156.
 Badges of Charles I., 203, 205, 206, 207, 211.
 " " " II., 250, 251.
 Bahadur Shah, Emperor of Delhi, 273.
 " " coin of, 283.
 " " II., coins of, 273.
 Bahmání Kings of the Deccan, 280-282.
 " " " " " coins of the, 265.
 Baird, Sir David, 417.
 Bakewell, the Saxon cross at, 365, 366.
 " Edward the Elder goes to, 366.
 Bakiri for quarter rupee, 311.
 Balance sheet of the Society, 468.
 BALDWIN, A. H. :—
 Some unpublished Seventeenth Century Tokens, 433.
 Baldwin, A. H., donation of coins by, 421.
 " " exhibits by, 421, 422, 430, 432, 443, 447.
 " the Sheriff, 100.
- Baltic, Cufic coins found on the shores of the, 61.
 Bangalore, mint coins of, 303, 307, 309, 310, 312, 316, 320, 321, 332, 338, 340.
 Baptist or Baptista, John, undergraver to the mint, 149, 162.
 " *Bardestaplensi burgo* " = Barnstaple, 97.
 Bardney in Lincolnshire, coins attributed to, 97.
 Barnes, A. W., exhibits by, 433.
 Barnstaple, coinage transferred to Totnes, 104.
 " Domesday account of, 97, 98.
 " granted to Jubel de Totnes, 99, 104.
 " its service, 98, 100, 104.
 " mint, 410.
 " " history of the, 97-100.
 " " of William I., 97.
 " " " Henry I., 97.
 Baroda state, 285.
 Basingstoke, find of a coin of Carausius at, 444.
 Battle axe on coins of Mysore, 299.
 Bayeux Tapestry, evidence of costume, etc., as depicted on the, 371, 372, 373, 374.
 "Be-nazir" = Hole Honnur mint, 317, 331, 332.
 Beaded edge of coins, 378.
 Beard, on Saxon and Norman coins of Edward the Confessor, 372-75.
 Bearman, T., exhibits by, 432.
 Beaworth, find of coins *temp.* William I. at, 99, 100, 102, 103, 106, 107, 109, 112, 114, 119, 122.
 Bêchot, 195.
 Beck, Anthony, Bishop of Durham, episcopal coins of, 137.
 Bede's method of calendar dating, 397, 400.
 Bedford mint of Eadwig, 93.
 Bedfordshire, token of, 433.
 Bednore mint, 300, 302, 306, 307, 308, 312, 316, 319, 321, 322, 324, 326, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332.
 Belfast tokens, 447.
 Bell on coins of Mysore, 296.
 Bellary mint, 302, 332.
 Beloe, E. M., exhibits by, 438.
 Beneventum, gold pieces struck by Duke of, 67.

- Beonna, king of East Anglia, 80, 81.
 " " " " " coins of, 75, 84.
 Beornwulf, King of Mercia, the penny of, 363, 378.
 Bermuda penny, 355, 359.
 Bernini, 247, 248.
 " bust of Charles I. by, 195, 199.
Biduum, the term, 393, 394, 395, 402, 403.
 Bijapur, 282.
 " mint, 277.
 Bijapuri gold mohur, 269.
 Bird on coins of Mysore, 295.
Bissexus, the, 392, 393, 395.
 Bitterne in Hampshire, find of a sceatta at, 76.
 "Black Charles," picture, 196.
 Blackwell, Edward, and Spanish prize money, 217.
 Blondeau, Engineer of the Mint, 176, 216, 217, 229, 230, 238, 239, 240.
 Blythborough, a port near, *temp.* Edward III., 124.
 Boadicea, 41.
 Bohemund I. of Antioch, coin attributed to, 72.
 "Boldon Book," and the mint of Durham, 113.
 Bombay mint, 263.
 Borghese, Prince, 249.
 Boulton and Watt, Droz engaged by, 358.
 " Matthew, 347, 351, 358, 359.
 " " steam presses of, 347, 358.
 BOUSFIELD, STANLEY, M.A., M.B. :—
 The Pattern Halfpennies of 1788 and 1790 by J. P. Droz, 347-360, 423.
 Bousfield, Stanley, coins of, 349-357.
 " " puncheon by Droz, of, 357.
 Bower, medallist, 257.
 Bracciano, Duke of, 196.
 Bracteates, head-dress on certain, 362.
 Bradford-on-Avon, Saxon architecture at, 365.
 Bretigny, treaty of, 139.
 Bridport, coins of William I., erroneously attributed to, 106.
 " Domesday account of, 105.
 " " record of a Saxon mint at, 105.
 " mint, history of, 105, 106.
 Bridport mint of William I., 106.
 Brinjal, the, on coins of Mysore, 295.
 Briot, 259.
 " Didier, engraver, 189.
 " Nicholas, the graver, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 181, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 193, 194, 196, 198, 203, 204, 206, 207, 208, 210, 220, 226, 237, 238.
 " " " " a medical practitioner in London, 189, 190.
 " " " " arrival in England, 186, 187.
 " " " " death of, 205.
 " " " " appointment of, 173.
 " " " " birth of, 188.
 " " " " early life of, 189.
 " " " " follows Charles I. to Oxford, 186.
 " " " " to York, 205.
 " " " " jealousy of, by officials at the mint, 173, 174.
 " " " " Juxon medal the work of, 181.
 " " " " makes the great seal, 175.
 " pattern half-crown by, 175.
 " " " groat of Charles I. attributed to, 197.
 " patterns for the French mint by, 187-188.
 " petition to Charles I. from, 433.
 " produced better work in France than in England, 187.

- Briot, records of, in the State Papers, 172-176.
 „ revisits France, 205.
 „ summoned to York, 185, 186.
 Briot's art inspired by Van Dyck's portraits, 193.
 „ dies given up to the Mint *temp.* Charles II., 237.
 „ shilling with flower and B, 174.
 Bristol, medal of surrender of, 207.
 „ mint of Charles I., 207.
 Britain, a gold-producing country, 36, 46.
 „ Roman rule in, 41, 48, 49.
 „ the supply of tin from, 34-36, 45.
 „ Roman mints in, 32.
 „ material for bronze coinage obtained from, 6.
 „ Romans attracted to, by its mines, 42.
 „ the Phœnicians and, 42.
Britain, The Roman Mint and Early, 1-50, 440, 441.
 Britannia on the pattern halfpennies of 1788 and 1790 by Droz, 348 *et seq.*
 British coinage, probable origin of, 47.
 „ colonization medal of Charles II. and Catharine, 256.
 „ Indian coinage, 263.
 „ Museum, coins in the, 62, 69, 74, 75, 77, 79, 86, 87, 88, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 114, 119, 120, 122, 195, 208, 301, 304, 305, 308, 309, 310, 321, 323, 327, 351, 352, 356.
 „ „ dies of the Roettiers, presented to the, 254.
 „ „ medals in the, 161, 162, 163, 164, 178, 252, 442.
Brockage or incuse pieces, probable use for, 18.
 Bronze coinage of Rome, composition of the, 4, 5.
 „ component parts of ancient, 28, 29.
 „ currency ceased to be struck in Roman mints, 4, 5.
 „ „ resumed in Roman mints, 4.
 Bronze, high quality of, due to facilities afforded by the Phœnician and Syrian markets in obtaining tin, 29.
 „ importance of, to the Romans, 28-30, 49.
 Brooch, the enamelled, on coins of Æthelstan, 367.
 Brooches, bronze, in a tumulus in Norway, 51, 53.
 Brown, Abraham, displaced from Drury House for the convenience of Blondeau, 238.
 Brunanburh, battle of, 89.
 Brunn, Mons., exhibits by, 447.
 Buccleuch, Duke of, portrait of Prince Henry in collection of, 213.
 Buckingham, Duke of, 146.
 „ George Villiers, Duke of, 166.
 „ mint, 410.
 Buddhist coins, 274.
 Buffalo taken in 1813 and 1814, 418.
 Bull on coins of Mysore, 293, 295.
 „ Theatre in 1637, 179.
 Buntingford tokens, 434.
 Burghers, Nicholas, engraver to the University of Oxford, 207.
 Burgred, coins of, 75, 363, 378.
 „ portraiture on the penny of, 363.
 Burnet, his remarks on Charles II., 249, 250.
 Bury St. Edmund's mint, 437.
 Bushell, Thomas, warden of the mint at Aberystwith and Oxford, 205.
 Byzantine Church, enumeration of days in the seventh century in the, 398.
- C.
- C = Colchester on coins of Carausius and Allectus, 115.
 Cær Colun = Colchester, 115.
 Cæsar Augustus, James I. designated on his coronation medal, 151.
 „ Julius, in Britain, 39, 40.
 „ „ and the Phœnicians, 42.
 Caius, inferior bronze coinage of, 31, 44.
 Calcutta mint closed to the free coinage of silver, 263.
 Calicut mint of Tipu, 302, 305, 306, 307, 309, 310, 320, 332.
 Calvary cross on Saxon coins, 74, 75, 77.

- Cambridge mint of Harold I., 379.
 Camel, on coins of Mysore, 295.
 Cameroons, Hanno's, on discovery of the, 37.
 Camulodunum = Colchester, 115.
 Canadian coins, patterns of, 421.
 Canterbury mint of Æthelstan, Elfric, moneyer of, 91.
 " " of Edward I., 134.
 " " " " II., 134.
 " " " " III., 138.
 " " " " Henry VIII., 425.
 " " in the Dunwich finds, 126.
 Canute, coins of, 367, 370, 371, 379.
 " portraiture on coins of, 370, 371.
 " represented on his coins in his helmet, 370, 371.
Capitolinus Mons, officina of the mint in the, 9.
 Caracalla, moulds for coins of, 26.
 " mutilated coin of, 22.
 Caractacus, 41.
 Carausius, Anglo-Saxon sceattas copied from type of, 76.
 " C., on coins of, 115.
 " coins of, 33, 76, 84, 444.
 " find of a coin of, at Basingstoke, 444.
 " Roman mint in Britain may have been established by, 33.
 Carinus, small *æ*s from Tacitus to, 24.
 Carlos, King of Portugal, letters of condolence from the Society, on the assassination of, and the Duke of Braganza, 419, 420, 448.
 CARLYON-BRITTON, P. W. P., F.S.A., *President* :—
 The Gold Mancus of Offa, King of Mercia, 55-72, 454-455.
 A penny of St. Æthelberht, King of East Anglia, 73-84.
 On some coins of the tenth century found in the Isle of Man, with special reference to a penny of Anlaf, struck at Derby, 85-96.
 A Numismatic History of the reigns of William I. and II. (1066-1100). Part II. The Histories of the Mints—*continued*, 97-121.
 Carlyon-Britton, P. W. P., coins of, 55, 63, 69, 73, 75, 77, 78, 87, 88, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 109, 110, 111, 112, 114, 119, 120, 122, 126, 127, 128, 378, 379.
 Carlyon-Britton, P. W. B., exhibits by, 432, 437, 438, 442, 443, 446.
 " " F.S.A., *President*, Presentation of his portrait to, 456-463.
 Carthage, 47.
 " Iberia and Gaul, early British coins, closely resemble the coinage of, 46, 47.
 Carthaginians, trade methods of the, 38.
 Cassiterides = Scilly Isles, the tin mines of the, 34, 35, 36.
 Cast money, concerning Roman, 26-28.
 Castile, coin of Alfonso VIII. of, 70, 71.
 Castle Rising, mint of Stephen, 438.
 Catharine, fondness of Queen, for representing her patron saint, 256.
 " portraits of Queen, 255, 256.
 " the golden medal of Charles II. and, 255, 256.
 Catulus, Q. Lutatius, 9.
 Cavino, Giovanni, engraver, 426.
 Cealchyth, Synod at, 63, 455.
 Celsus, A. Cornelius, and the bissextus, 393.
 Ceolnoth, mitre on the coins of, 371.
 Ceolwulf II., King of Mercia, coin of, 77.
 Cerne founded by Hanno of Carthage, 37.
 Ceylon, tin obtained from, 33.
 Chaitaur, mint of Akbar, 277.
 Chamundi in Hindu mythology, 335.
 Chanda, in Hindu mythology, 335.
 Channel Island coins, 436.
 Charing Cross, concerning the statue of Charles I. at, 200 *et seq.*
 Charlemagne and Haroun Alraschid, 61.
 " gold pieces struck by, at Lucca, probably tribute money, 67.
 " the keys of the Holy Sepulchre sent to, 68.
 " the sous d'or of, probably tribute money, 67.
 Charles I., counter of James I. and Prince, 155.

- Charles I., jettons commemorating the birth of, 183, 184.
- " " personality and character of, 171.
- " " jewels paid for after his accession, 166.
- " " medals of children of, 194.
- " " and Henrietta Maria, picture of, at Combe Abbey, 192, 193.
- " " " " marriage medals of, 190.
- " " an art critic, 212.
- " " badges of, 203, 205, 206, 207, 211.
- " " and his Scottish coronation medal, 197.
- " " coins of, 170, 171, 172, 174, 175, 177, 191, 192, 197, 204, 205, 206, 208, 209, 367, 380.
- " " easy to portray, 195, 246.
- " " order of, to Nicholas Briot in 1626, 188.
- " " favours a milled currency, 176.
- " " fondness of, for medallion portraits, 211.
- " " embossed patterns of, 177.
- " " head of, on counter box, 183.
- " " medals of, 178, 181, 182, 183, 184, 188, 190, 193, 194, 197, 198, 199, 203, 207.
- " " pattern half groat of, attributed to Briot, 197.
- " " patterns of, 175, 177, 178, 182, 195, 196.
- " " petition to, from Briot, 433.
- " " portrait of, on a medallion of Anne, 202.
- " " " " plaque of, 418.
- " " portraiture of, 170 *et seq.*, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 198, 199, 202, 211, 212.
- " " removes to York, 185.
- " " retains his father's portrait, 171.
- " " Scottish coronation, medal of, 197, 198.
- " " story of the statue of, 200 *et seq.*
- " " the Arundel statue of, 200.
- " " touch-pieces of, 149.
- " " and II., a comparison in medallion art of, 261, 262.
- Charles II. prohibited the issue of tokens, 433.
- " " and Catharine, *golden medal* of, 255, 256.
- " " appearance of, 249.
- " " badges of, 250, 251.
- " " character and personality of, 242, 243, 244, 248, 249, 250, 260, 261.
- " " coins of, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 236, 240, 241, 242, 248.
- " " effigy of, 225.
- " " hammered pieces of, 230.
- " " had borrowed money from the Roettiers, 237.
- " " marble bust of, 247.
- " " medals of, 229, 244, 245, 246, 248, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257.
- " " Pepys on the coins of, 248, 249.
- " " portraits of, 246, 247, 248, 249, 251.
- " " portraiture of, 225 *et seq.*
- " " proofs and patterns of, 230, 231, 236, 240, 241.
- " " Scottish coinage of, 232, 233.
- " " the inner circle continued on the coinage until the reign of, 363.
- " " personal popularity of, 261.
- " " religious convictions of, 260, 261.
- " " le Chauve, 366.
- " " VIII. of France, moneyer's pass *temp.* of, 19.
- Charleville, Didier Briot at, 189.
- " " Forest, token of, 422.
- Charlton, William, exhibits by, 430, 436.
- Cheke, Sir John, tutor to Edward VI., medal of, 426.
- Chester-le-Street to Durham, see removed from, 113.
- Chester mint from Æthelstan to Eadgar, M and the, 87.
- " " of Æthelstan, 91.
- Chi-rho cross, the, 364.
- Chichester mint of Edward the Confessor, 380.
- Children of Charles I.* medal, 193, 194.
- China, rupee, to assert suzerainty over Tibet, 443.
- Chittledroog mint, 310.
- Christchurch mint, 410.

- Christian VI., Indian coins of, 344, 429.
 " VII., " " " 344, 429.
 " VIII., " " " 344, 429.
 Christina, Queen of Sweden's portrait of Cromwell, 224.
 Christ's Hospital, medal of Charles II., 257.
 Circle, inner, on the Saxon pennies, 363.
 Civil Day or Feria, the, 381-407.
 " war badge of Charles I., 211.
 " week or Septimana, the, 385, 386.
 Clarendon on the great seal of Charles II., 233.
 " petition crown presented to, 241.
 Claudius and his connection with Britain, 40, 41, 42, 48.
 " decreases the holidays in the Roman year, 382.
 " coins of, 31, 44.
 Clausentum, find of a sceatta at, 76.
 CLEMENTS, LUTHER :—
 Hampshire Tokens of the Seventeenth Century, 433.
 Clements, L., exhibits by, 433.
 Cnut, coins of, 97, 103, 106, 111, 113, 121.
 " " " incorrectly assigned to Bardney, 97.
 " penny of, with reverse of Æthelred II., York mint, 447.
 " reference to the laws of, 67.
 Coat of mail on the coins of Harold I., 372.
 Coenwulf, coins of, 75, 80, 84, 439.
 " and the letter of Pope Leo III. to, 63, 455.
 Coin collecting in Mysore, 287-340.
 " " in the Deccan, 263-285.
 " moulds, find of, at Duston in Northampton, 26, 441.
 " " find of, at Polden Hill in Somerset, 26, 441.
 " " of baked clay or terra-cotta, frequently found, 26.
 " weights by Briot, 198.
 Coins, reason for cracked Roman, 10, 11.
 Coke, Sir Henry, 163.
 Colchester and Maldon, the burgesses of, and the mint, 118.
 " " " mint of William I. and II., 118.
 " derivation of, 115.
 Colchester Domesday account of, 116-118.
 " Eadweard the Elder renovates the burgh of, 116.
 " mint, history of, 115-120.
 " " moneyers of, 116, 117.
 " " of William I., 119.
 " " " II., 120.
 " taken and reduced in 921, 115, 116.
 " Roman, had the status of a *Colonia*, 115.
 Collar, split, used by Droz, 357, 358, 359.
 Colt, Maximilian, sculptor, 225.
 Combe Abbey, picture of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria at, 193.
 " " picture of Charles II. at, 251.
 Commonwealth, Charles II. and the coins of the, 229.
 " great seal of the, 210.
Computation of Historic Time in the Ninth Century, the Anglo-Saxon, 381-407.
 Conbelin cross at Margram Abbey, the legend on the, 362.
 Conch shell on coins of Mysore, 296.
 Concurrent Day, computing the, 401.
 " Days, table linking the Sunday letters with the, 399, 400.
 " " the, 387, 395, 399-401.
 Conisborough Keep, reproduction of reverse design of Stephen's coins in the, 376.
 Constantine, 386.
 " Saxon coins copied from coins of, 76.
 " coins of, 75, 76, 84.
 " King of the Scots, 89.
 " the Great, transfers the observances of the *Nundinæ* to Sunday, 384.
 " II., find of coins of, at Damery in Epernay, 29.
 Constantinople and its Roman mint, 45.
 " mint of Constantine II. and Constans, 27.
 Constantinus Maximus, coins of, 32.
 Cooper, Samuel, miniaturist, 223, 246, 249, 256, 261.
 " " miniatures by, 222, 223.
 Corbilon, Scipio, and the supply of tin, 35, 47.

- Corfe Castle = "Castellum de Warham," 110.
 Corinth, component parts of ancient coins of, 29.
 Cornwall, tin obtained from, 34, 36.
 " tokens of, 444.
 Costume, change in, on early coins, 360 *et seq.*
 Counter box, with head of Charles I., 183.
 " of James I. and Prince Charles, 155.
 Coutances, Geoffrey de Mowbray, Bishop of, 98.
 Cowries, as exchange, 270.
 Crassus Publius ascertains whence tin was obtained by the Phœnicians, 40.
 Craven, Lord, picture of, 193.
 Crediton and St. Germans, see of, in reign of Edward the Confessor, 100.
 Cricklade mint, 410.
 Crispus, coins of, 84.
 Cromwell, Oliver, anecdotes of, 218, 219, 220.
 " " coins of, 215, 216, 217.
 " " farthings, 443.
 " " great seal of, 210.
 " " his appreciation of art, 219.
 " " medal of, 220, 222.
 " " Pepys' on the coins of, 248, 249.
 " " personality and character of, 218, 219, 223, 224.
 " " portraiture of, 218, 219, 222, 223, 224.
 " " reversion of feeling from, 243.
 " " Simon's portraits of, 215 *et seq.*
 " Richard, 225.
 " " great seal of, 210.
 Cross as a mint-mark, the, 135-144, 423.
 " crosslet on penny of Beornwulf, 363.
 " mint-mark and the arrangement of issues, 135.
 " on the reverse of Saxon and later coins, 367.
 " pattée on Plantagenet coins, 143.
 Crosslet, cross, 142, 363.
 Crown of Harold II., 373.
 " on Plantagenet coins, variations in indicating the king's, 143.
 Crown on the Saxon coinage, 366 *et seq.*
 Crowther, Rev. G. F., on dies by Droz, 352.
 Crusaders, gold besant struck by, 72, 446.
 " coins of, with Arabic inscriptions, 70, 446.
 CRVX on coins of, Ethelred II., 370.
 Cúarán, Anlaf, Sihtricsson, nick-named, 86.
 Cuerdale, find of coins, *temp.* Ceolwulf and Halfdan, etc., at, 77.
 " " " Cufic money in, 60, 61.
 Cufic coins found at Arundel, Sussex, 61.
 " " " " Cuerdale, 60, 61.
 " " " " Eastbourne, Sussex, 61.
 " " " " Goldborough, Yorkshire, 61, 62, 63.
 " " " " Lugga, Co. Meath, Ireland, 61.
 " " " in Sweden, 61.
 " " " on the shores of the Baltic, 61.
 Cunobelinus, coin of, 115.
 Currie, Laurence, marble bust of Charles I. of, 200.
 " " painting of James I. of, 153.
 Curtana, the Confessor's sword of state, 374.
 Cut halfpennies, 86, 90, 91, 93, 96, 444, 445.
 " " and farthings at Dunwich, finds of mediæval, 123-134, 444, 445.
 Cycle of the Concurrent Days, 405.
 " " " Dominical letters, 405.
 " " " Ferial letters, 405.
 Cynethryth, coins of, 84.
 " wife of Offa, 74, 79, 80 *et seq.*
- D.
- Da Trezzo, Jacopo Nizola, medal by, 426.
 D.A.C. on Danish coins, 344.
 Dagger on coins of Mysore, 296.
 Dale Abbey, design of Stephen's coins on tiles at, 376.
 " Mr. William, F.S.A., sceatta exhibited by, 76.
 Dalu, the cyclic year, 306.
 Damasus, Pope, and the calendar by Filocalus, 403.

- Danby, Lord Treasurer, and the statue of Charles I., 201.
- Danes, Alfred's struggle with, affects his early coinage, 363.
- Danish issue of coins for Southern India, 344, 345, 429.
- Darley Abbey, 439.
- Daulatabad, 267, 268, 272, 276, 277, 284.
- Days, number of, in Roman months, 391.
- de Bildt, Le Baron—the author, donation of book by, 435.
- „ Critz, John, painter, 225.
- „ Ferrers, Robert, Earl of Derby, coins of, 439, 440.
- „ Grange, David, miniature by, 250.
- „ Jode, Pieter, print engraver, 192.
- „ la Boderie, extract from, on Prince Henry, 213.
- „ Longpérier, M. Adrien, and his paper on the gold mancus of Offa, 55, 58, 59, 65.
- „ Mayerne, leaden medal of, 190.
- „ „ Theodore, physician to James I. and Charles I., 189, 190.
- „ Moion, William, reasons for attributing certain coins to, 438, 440.
- „ Mowbray, Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, 98.
- „ „ „ joins the rebellion against William II., 98, 99, 104.
- „ Nunant, Roger, 99.
- „ Passe, Simon van, engraver, 152, 155, 156, 159, 213, 246.
- „ Piles, Roger, 195, 196.
- „ Rossi, Signor, and a coin of Maldon mint at Rome, 120.
- „ „ „ and Anglo-Saxon coins found at Rome, 73, 74.
- „ Totnes, Juhel, 98, 99, 104.
- Deccan, coin collecting in the, 263–285, 430.
- „ coins, miscellaneous, 284, 285.
- „ „ of the Nizam of the, 270–274.
- Deer on coins of Mysore, 292, 300.
- Delanoue, Jehan, 190.
- Delhi, coins of the Pathán kings of, 265.
- „ mint of Akbar, 277.
- „ Pathán kings of, 275–277.
- „ standard of silver, the old, 264.
- Demi-franc 1618, by Briot, 187.
- Denarii, find of forgeries of, at Damery in Eprenay, 27.
- „ „ „ leaden, at Maryport, 27.
- „ „ „ plated, 24.
- Denarius, the old silver penny reproduces the Roman, 361.
- Derby, Bushell brings miners to, 206.
- „ concerning a penny of Anlaf, struck at, 85–96.
- „ mint of Ætheldred II., 92.
- „ „ „ Æthelstan, 87, 89, 96.
- „ „ „ Anlaf, 87, 88, 89, 96.
- „ „ „ Stephen, 438, 439.
- Desborough, 218.
- Devon, tin obtained from, 34.
- Devonshire, Duke of, „ limning by Samuel Cooper, „ in the collection of the, 222.
- „ mints, history of the, 97–105.
- Dickesone, Charles, the graver, 171, 172.
- Dies, confusion between the terms *feria* and *luna* and, 382.
- Dies for the Roman coins, 18, 19, 20, 21.
- „ temp. Henry III. were punched, Mr. Shirley Fox demonstrates that the, 376, 377.
- „ of the Roettiers, 253.
- Dinar, the gold mancus of Offa, a copy of a, 56.
- Dionysius Exiguus, 388, 398, 403, 406.
- Dirhems of El-Mansoor, 63.
- Divine hand, on coins of Ethelred II. and Edward the Elder, 370.
- Dixi-Custodian* medal of Charles II., 250.
- Dog [?] on coins of Mysore, 204.
- Domenico, Signior, 249.
- Dominical Letters and their Cycle, 404–407.
- Dominion-of-the-Sea medal of Charles I., 203, 206, 207.
- Domoc = Dunwich, 113.
- Donations to the Society:—
- Books by—
- American Numismatic and Archaeological Society, 416.
- Le Baron de Bildt (the author), 435.
- Major W. J. Freer, 417.
- Nathan Heywood, 435.
- R. W. McLachlan, 421.
- Messrs. Sotheby and Co., 421.
- „ Spink and Son, 417.
- Percy H. Webb (author), 432.
- COINS BY—
- A. H. Baldwin, 421.

Donations to the Society :—*continued*—COINS BY—*continued*—

- R. W. McLachlan, 421.
 Max Rosenheim, 435.
 J. Sanford Saltus, 421, 435.
 of drawing, by Miss Anscombe, 417.
 of lantern and screen, by Fleet-Surgeon A. E. Weightman, 452.
 of medal by R. W. K. Goddard, 420.
 of mounted casts of coins by A. P. Ready, 435.
 of two bookcases by Lt.-Col. H. W. Morrieson, 452.
 Dorchester, find of a coin of William I. at, 112.
 „ mint, history of, 106–108.
 „ „ of William I., 107.
 „ „ „ „ II., 108.
 Dorset mints, history of the, 105–112.
 Douglas, find of a hoard of coins from Eadweard the Elder to Eadgar at, 85 *et seq.*
 Drachma of Louis IX., 71.
 Draghi, Giovanni Baptista, the “Italian Musician,” 252.
 Dragon on coins of Mysore, 293.
 Dress in the time of Charles II., 243, 244.
 Droz, Jean Pierre, description of the pattern halfpennies of 1788 and 1790, by, 347 *et seq.*
 „ biographical notes of, 358.
 „ his inventions, 359, 360.
 „ modern concoctions assigned to, 354, 355.
 Drury House, 238, 239.
 „ „ Blondeau established at, 238.
 „ „ Cromwell’s coins struck at, 238.
 „ „ as Government offices, 239.
 „ Sir William, 239.
 Dryden, 261.
 „ on Sir Peter Lely, 247.
 Dublin mint of Edward I., 134.
 Duchailu, the explorer, 38.
 DVM attribution of certain coins, reading, to Durham or Dunwich, 113.
 Dunbar, battle of, badge commemorating the, 219, 220, 222.
 DVNII, attribution of certain coins reading, to Dunholm (Durham) or Dunwich, 113

- Dunkirk, sale of, 239, 240.
 Dunster, William de Moion, lord of, 440.
 Dunwich, finds of mediæval cut halfpence and farthings at, 123–134, 444, 445.
 „ fined for unlawfully supplying the king’s enemies with corn, 124.
 „ attribution of certain coins to, 113.
 „ existence of a mint at, 127, 445.
 „ relics from the sea at, 125.
 „ early history of, 123 *et seq.*
 Dupré, Guillaume, French medallist, 187, 188, 189, 194.
 Durga, wife of Siva, 335.
 Durham, Antony Beck, bishop of, 137.
 „ the bishop’s right of coining at, 114.
 „ deviation of, 113.
 „ distinguishing mark of the episcopal coins of, 114.
 „ mint, history of, 113, 114.
 „ „ of Henry III., 437.
 „ „ prior to 1183, Henry II. had closed, 114.
 „ no account of, in the Domesday Book, 113.
 Durlacher, and his gift to the nation of the marble bust of Charles II., 247.
 Duston in Northants, find of Roman coin moulds at, 26, 441.
 Dutch issues for Southern India, 343, 344, 429.
 Dysart, Lord, miniature by David de Grange, the property of, 250.

E.

- Eadberht I., *succeeded* his brother, Æthelberht II., 79.
 Eadgar, coins of, 86, 89, 95, 96, 108, 111, 121.
 „ find of a hoard of coins at Douglas *temp.* Eadweard the Elder to, 85 *et seq.*
 „ reference to the laws of, 67.
 Eadgyth, Queen, 100.
 Eadmund, coins of, 86, 87, 89, 91, 92, 120.
 „ reference to the laws of, 67.
 Eadred, coins of, 86, 87, 89, 92, 93.

Eadward the Confessor, reference to the laws of, 67.

Eadward the Elder, 116.

" " " coins of, 86, 90.

" " " find of a penny of, at Goldborough, 62.

" " " renovates the burgh of Colchester, 116.

" " " to Eadgar, find of a hoard of coins from, at Douglas, 85 *et seq.*

" " Guthrum, reference to the laws of, 67.

" " Martyr, no coins of Maldon, mint of, 121.

" " " no coins of Shaftesbury of, but after him to the Conquest, 108.

Eadwig, coin of, 86, 89, 93, 94, 95, 120.

Ealdhun, Bishop, 113.

Eardwulf, styca of, 429.

Earle Fox, H. B., coins of, 120.

Earls Barton tower, Saxon form of architecture at, 365.

East Africa and Uganda, coins of, 421.

East Anglian tokens, 434.

" India Company, coinage adopted for Mysore, 288.

" " " copper coins of the, 341-343.

" " " the early copper coins of, probably made to resemble those of native princes, 341.

" Indian coins, 447.

" John, undergraver, 173, 220.

Eastbourne, Sussex, Cufic coins found at, 61.

Eastern Barent, the town of, 123.

" coins and ornaments of, discovered in Norway and Sweden, 61, 62.

Ebura Cerealis, Granada, coin of, 443.

Ecgrith, joint king of the Mercians, 63.

Edgar, coins of, 368, 369, 379.

" art in reign of, 368.

" portraiture on the coins of, 368, 369.

Edinburgh mint of Charles II., 233.

Edmund Ironsides continues Ethelred II.'s coins, 376.

" the Atheling, coins of, 367, 378.

" " " portraiture on coins of, 367.

Edred, coins of, 367, 379.

" portraiture on coins of, 367.

Edward the Confessor, beard shown on coins of, 372.

" " " Barnstaple mint, *temp.*, 98.

" " " coins of, 97, 106, 111, 121, 372, 373, 379, 380.

" " " coins of, incorrectly assigned to Bardney, 97.

" " " gold pieces probably for paying the Romfeoh, 69, 70.

" " " portraiture on coins of, 372, 373.

" " " small and thick experimental penny of, 373.

" " Elder, artistic finish of a penny of, 364.

" " " coins of, 364-366, 370, 378, 422.

" " " church at Bakewell possibly founded by, 366.

Edward the Elder, Divine hand on coins of, 370.

" " " portraiture on coins of, 364-366.

" " Martyr, coins of, 369, 379.

" I., annulet on the king's breast on coins of, 136.

" " coins of, 125, 133, 134, 444.

" " rose on the king's breast on coins of, 136.

" II. and III., the cross pattée on coins of, 135-137, 138, 143, 423.

" II., coins of, 125, 134, 444.

" III., coins of, 125, 134, 418, 436, 438, 439, 444.

" " double annulet stops on coins of, 138.

- Edward III., statute of, on counterfeiting the great seal, 226.
- „ IV. (?), coins of, 134.
- „ „ varieties of cross on the coins of, 142, 423.
- „ VI., coins of, 169, 425.
- „ „ leaden medallion, 447.
- „ „ School, Bromsgrove, medal of king, 420.
- „ VII., Maundy penny of, 377, 380.
- „ „ portraiture on Maundy penny of, 377.
- „ (uncertain) coins of, 134.
- Effigy upon coins, on the retention of a deceased ruler's, 170, 171, 376.
- Egbert, concerning the date of Bede's Epistle to Archbishop, 397.
- El-Amir, imitation by Crusaders of dinars of, 72, 446.
- El Mansoor, a dinar of, 56, 57.
- „ „ dirhems of, 63, 446.
- „ „ the gold mancus of Offa, a copy of the ordinary dinar of, 56.
- Elagabalus, find of moulds for producing coins of, 26.
- Elbe, the, and its supply of amber, 35.
- Elephant on coins of Mysore, 290 *et seq.*
- Elfreda, daughter of Offa, 81.
- Elichpur, 282.
- „ (Berar) mint, coins of, 284.
- „ „ „ of Alamgir II., 279.
- Elliott, General, medal for, struck by J. P. Droz, 359.
- Elizabeth, miniature, and a cameo of, 427.
- „ and James I., naval rewards of, 157.
- „ Armada badge of, 161.
- „ coins of, 380, 425.
- „ mathematical instruments probably made for, 427.
- „ medal of, 427.
- „ reference to the designs of coins, seals, etc., of, 147, 148.
- „ the debt inherited by James I. from, 165.
- „ of Bohemia, 239.
- „ sister of Charles I., 193.
- Ellora, caves of, 268.
- Emden, Chancellor, chain given by James I. to, 165.
- England and Scotland, attempted union, medal of, 161, 162.
- English East India Company and other European Powers in Southern India, some copper coins issued by the, 341-346.
- Engravers of Charles II., and their remuneration, 260.
- Equinox, explanation of the terms autumnal and vernal, 392.
- Eric, coins of, 86, 89, 90.
- Erie, Fort, siege and assault of, 418.
- Essex mints, history of the, 115-122.
- Ethelbert of Kent, date of the death of, 394, 395.
- Ethelred II., coins of, 367, 369, 370, 379.
- „ „ to Henry I., CRUX and PAX on coins of, 370, 373.
- „ „ Divine hand on coins of, 370.
- „ „ introduction of the sceptre on coins of, 369, 370.
- „ „ portraiture on the coins of, 369, 370.
- Eudo, dapifer, 121.
- Evelyn, the diarist, 198, 207, 223, 224, 240, 243, 254, 257.
- Evolution of Portraiture on the Silver Penny*, 361-380.
- Exeter, Domesday account of, 100.
- „ its service, 98, 100, 104.
- „ mint, history of, 100-103.
- „ „ of William I., 101, 102, 103, 373.
- „ „ „ „ II., 103.
- „ „ „ Stephen, 440.
- „ „ „ Charles I., 207.
- Exhibits by:—
- W. J. Andrew, 438.
- Rev. Dr. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, 434.
- A. H. Baldwin, 421, 422, 430, 432, 443, 447.
- A. W. Barnes, 433.
- T. Bearman, 432.
- E. M. Beloe, 438.
- Mons. Brunn, 447.
- P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, 432, 437, 438, 442, 443, 446.
- William Charlton, 430, 436.
- L. Clements, 433.
- H. Fentiman, 444.
- L. L. Fletcher, 422, 434, 447.
- Major W. J. Freer, 417, 418, 436.

Exhibits by :—*continued.*

- Lord Grantley, 446.
 S. H. Hamer, 434, 444.
 M. E. Hughes-Hughes, 447.
 Major R. P. Jackson, 429.
 L. A. Lawrence, 418, 429, 434, 437,
 438, 439, 443.
 Edgar Lincoln, 447.
 H. Clay Miller, 422.
 Lt.-Col. H. W. Morrieson, 424, 425,
 429, 443.
 W. Sharp Ogden, 422.
 Samuel Page, 444.
 H. A. Parsons, 429.
 Dr. Herbert Peck, 436.
 Max Rosenheim, 426, 427.
 Bernard Roth, 430, 434, 436.
 S. M. Spink, 425.
 H. W. Taffs, 444.
 W. C. Wells, 418, 422, 433, 437, 439,
 447.
 John West, 443.
 F. Willson Yeates, 434, 447.
Extensum, Dunwich and the Roman, 123.

F.

- Falconer, engraver, 204, 233.
 „ John, assistant to Nicholas Briot,
 172.
 „ Sir Alexander, of Halkerbourn,
 172.
 Farakhi, mint of Tipu, 313, 314, 317, 319,
 330, 332.
 „ = New Calicut, 313.
 FARQUHAR, MISS HELEN :—
 Portraiture of our Tudor Monarchs on
 their coins and medals, 427, 428.
 Portraiture of our Stuart Monarchs on
 their coins and medals, Part I, 145-
 262.
 Farrukh Siyar, coin of, 279.
 Fashion of dress under Charles I., 196.
 Feiz-Hisar, mint of Haidar, 302.
 „ „ „ Tipu, 302 *et seq.*
 Felicitas Britanniae medal of Charles II.,
 252, 253, 254.
 Felix, Bishop and the see of Dunwich,
 123.
 Fentiman, H., exhibits by, 444.
Feria, *The Characteristics of the*, 382-284.
 „ *The Civil Day or*, 381-407.
 Fernlega, *see* Hereford, 82.
 Ferukhbad-Hisar, mint of Tipu, 310, 312,
 316, 317, 319, 321, 332.
 Fillet on the head of the coins of Saxon
 coins, 364 *et seq.*
 Find of a coin of Carausius, at Basingstoke,
 444.
 „ „ „ Offa in a Viking age
 burial at Voss, Norway,
 51-54.
 „ copper coin of Granada, with
 Roman coins, at Abingdon,
 443, 444.
 „ cut half of an “offering penny”
 of Ælfred the Great, at Gold-
 borough, 62.
 „ penny of Eadweard the Elder, at
 Goldborough, Yorkshire, 62.
 „ *temp.* Ceolwulf and Halfdan at
 Cuerdale, 77.
 „ „ St. Æthelberht of East
 Anglia, in Italy, 73.
 „ silver half-gros of Henry IV., at
 Sturton-le-Steeple, Notts, 444.
 „ an uncertain Saxon coin in the
 Isle of Man, 96.
 „ ornaments in a tumula in Norway,
 51, 52, 53.
 „ forgeries of coins, *temp.* Antoninus
 Pius to Postumus at Damery in
 Epernay, 27.
 „ leaden sesterii in Lincoln, 27.
 „ „ „ the Thames, 27.
 „ Roman coin moulds at Duston in
 Northampton, 26, 441.
 „ „ moulds at Polden Hill in
 Somerset, 26, 441.
 „ sceatta, at Bitterne in Hampshire,
 76.
 „ the imitation of a dinar *circa*
 Hisham II., in Spain, 72.
 Finds of coins :—
 Anglo-Saxon, in the house of the
 Vestals, 73, 74.
 Constantine II. and Constans, at
 Damery in Epernay, 27.
 Cufic coins at Arundel, Sussex, 61.
 „ „ „ Eastbourne, 61.
 „ „ „ Goldborough, 61, 62.
 „ „ „ Lugga, County Meath,
 61.
 „ „ in Cuerdale, 60, 61.
 „ „ Sweden, 61.
 „ „ on the shores of the Baltic,
 61.

- Ganaputti*, the elephant-headed Hindu god, 289.
Ganesa, the elephant-headed god, 289, 290.
Ganda bherunda, or double-headed eagle, on coins of Mysore, 295.
Garuda, Hindu demi-god, emblem of strength and speed, 290.
Gaudas, the term, 269.
Gaywood, print engraver, 224.
George and Theophylact, Legates, visit Offa, 63, 65.
 " Fort, action at, 418.
 " III., pattern halfpennies of, by Droz, 347 *et seq.*
 " " modern "patterns" of half-penny pieces of, in gold, 356.
 " " on his recovery, medal of, struck by J. P. Droz, 359.
GF, in the cycle of the Dominical letters, 406, 407.
Ghias Shah, coins of, 283.
Ghias-ud-din Palban, coins of, 275.
 " " " Tughlak Shah, coins of, 275.
Gibbons, Grinling, 261.
 " " pedestal designed by, for statue of Charles I., 202.
Gilbert, John, chief graver at the mint of James I. and Charles I., 151, 173, 175, 184, 191, 192, 215, 221.
G.L. for Gabriel Ladame, 251.
Glass beads in a tumulus in Norway, 51.
Gloucester mint of Ethelred II., 379.
 " " " William I., 379.
Gobinpur mint of Akbar, 277.
Goddard, R. W. K., donation of medal by, 420.
Gofton, Sir Francis, Auditor of the Exchequer, 149, 150.
Golconda, 282.
 " mint of Aurangzib, 277.
 "Gold, a mancus of," 60.
Gold bullets found in the Department of the Marne, 430.
Goldborough, Yorkshire, cut half of a large coin of Alfred found at, 62.
 " " Oriental and Saxon coins found at, 61, 62, 63.
Golden medal of Charles II. and Catharine, 255, 256.
Gooty, fortress of, 302, 309.
Grafton, Duke of, picture in the collection of the, 193.
Granada, copper coin of, 443.
Grantley, Lord, coins of, 56, 70, 71, 72.
 " " exhibits by, 446.
 " " map showing the gold-coining countries of the eighth century drawn by, 66, 67, 68, 455.
 " " on the gold mancus of Offa, 56, 57, 67.
Greatley, Synod of, 88, 89.
Greek art, influence of, on the *æs grave*, 5.
 " bronze of good quality, 44.
 " helmet in the British Museum, component parts of the bronze in a, 29.
 " or Greco-Roman artists were probably employed in the preparation of the matrix or die, 11, 12.
Green, Edward, chief graver at the mint of James I. and Charles I., 151, 173, 176, 179, 180, 181, 183, 184, 185, 191, 192, 194, 195, 197, 208, 215, 221.
 " " death of, 185.
 " with Briot *v.* Green with Gilbert, 191.
Gregorian Calendar supersedes the old style in 1752, 187.
Gregory, Pope, and the Julian intercalated day, 395.
 " " " " method erroneously attributed to him of counting the days, 398.
Greyhound countermark on coins of Edward VI., 425.
Grimvald, Duke of Beneventum, gold piece struck by, 67.
Grotefend, Dr., and the computation of time, 387, 388, 394.
Gryphon on coins of Mysore, 292, 293.
Guildford mint, 410.
Gujarat, coins of the kings of, 283.
Gurumkondah, mint of Tipu, 310, 332.
Guthfrith expelled by Æthelstan, 88.
Gwalior state, 285.

- Henry, Prince, and his jewels, 166.
 " " as a numismatist, 215.
 " " counter of, 214.
 " " medal of, 214.
 " " effigy of, 225.
 " " portrait and character of, 212-215.
 Henry I., coins of, 97, 375, 379, 418, 440.
 " " cut farthings of, 126, 127, 444.
 " " " halfpenny, 447.
 " " portraiture on coins of, 375.
 " " reference to the laws of, 67.
 " " the value of the gold mancus under, 57, 58.
 " II., coins of, 376, 379.
 " " cut coins, etc., of, 128, 444.
 " " portraiture on coins of, 376.
 " II.-III., cut coins, etc., of, 125, 128-131, 444.
 " " " short cross and long cross coins of, 436.
 " III., coins of, 377, 379, 436, 437.
 " " cut coins, etc., of, 131-133, 444.
 " " reproduces last type of Henry II., 376.
 " " numerical denomination added on coins of, 377.
 " " portraiture on coins of, 377.
 " " weight of the gold penny of, 59.
 " IV., coins of, 418, 429, 443.
 " " false groat of, 439.
 " " find of a silver half-gros of, at Sturton le Steeple, Notts., 444.
 " " varieties of cross on coins of, 139, 140.
 " V., coins of, 443.
 " " varieties of cross on coins of, 140, 141.
 " VI., coins of, 443.
 " " varieties of cross on coins of, 141, 142.
 " VII., coins of, 424.
 " " followers of a king *de facto* secured by an Act of, 218.
 " " funeral effigies of, 224, 225.
 " VIII., coins of, 380, 418, 422, 425.
 " " medal of, 426.
 " " portraiture on coins of, 427.
 " (uncertain) coins of, 134.
 Hereford, body of Æthelberht conveyed to, 82.
 Heriot, George, court jeweller to James I., 154, 166.
 Herrick, William, King's jeweller, 163, 166.
 Hertford, mint of Æthelstan, 120.
 Hesham ben abd el Malek, dinar of, 61.
 Heywood, Nathan, donation of books by, 435.
 Hilliard, Laurence, 155.
 " Nicholas, artist, 147, 148, 153, 154, 155, 160, 161, 163, 164, 165, 428.
 " " extract from the monopoly given him by James I., 154, 155.
 " " in his capacity of jeweller to James I., 154.
 " " sums paid to, for medal working, 165.
 Hisham II., imitation of a dinar, *circa*, 72.
 Hispano-Moorish dinar, imitation of, 446.
 Hobbes, 261.
 Hocking, W. J., reference to his paper on Simon's coins, 209, 215, 217.
 Hole, William, *see* Holle, 150.
 Holkar, campaigns against the chief, 1803-4-5-6, 417.
 Holland, Lord, 167.
 Hollar, 200, 261.
 " Wenceslaus, print by, 201.
 Holle, 213, 214, 215.
 " John, probably a mistake for William Holle, 151.
 " William, cuneator of the mint, 150, 151.
 Hook on coins of Mysore, 296.
 Horse on coins of Mysore, 294.
 Howard, Charles, Earl of Nottingham, portrayed on a silver-gilt box, 156.
 Hugh, Lord Bishop of Durham, 113.
 Hugh the Sheriff, 106, 108, 111.
 Hughes-Hughes, M. E., exhibits by, 447.
 Humayan Shah, coins of, 281.
 Hunbeanna, King of East Anglia, 80.
 " probably = Beonna, 80.
 Hunter collection, medals in the, 161, 162, 164.
 Huntingdon mint of Eadwig, 94.
 Huth, Reginald, coins of, 120.

Huysmans, the artist, 256.
 Hyderabad, introduction of a machine-made rupee in, 264, 271.
 " its mints and the varieties of its currencies, 264.
 " Mahbubia rupee of, 271.
 " mint of "Abd" alla Qutb, Shah of Golconda, 284.
 " mint of Aurangzib, 279.
 " refuses to accept the British rupee, 263.
 Hythe mint, 410.

I.

Iberia, early British coins closely resemble the coinage of, 46, 47.
 Iberian miner, descendants of, in Wales, etc., 45, 46.
 Ibrahim, coins of, in the Deccan, 284.
 Iceland head-dress similar to that on Saxon crown, 367.
 Ina, penny first mentioned in the Laws of, 361.
 India, alms sent by King Alfred to, 66.
 " Government of, offer to coin for the native states, 263.
 " Southern, tin obtained in, 33.
 " the currency of, in 1835, 263.
 Indore state, 269, 285.
 Inglis, Robert, coins of, 272, 307, 310, 312, 327, 330.
 Innocent IV., staurats struck for Pope, 71.
 Ipswich fined for supplying the King's enemies with corn, 124.
 Ireland, Thomas Simon graves several seals for Scotland and, 228.
 Irish coinage, warrant to Charles Anthony to engrave dies for, 149.
 " ring-money, 422.
 " unpublished tokens, 434.
 Isidore, Bishop of Seville, 387.
 Isle Dieu, 417.
 " of Man, find of coins *temp.* tenth century in the, 85-96.
 " " " uncertain Saxon coin found in the, 96.
 " " Wight, tokens of the, 433.
 Islip Chamber, effigy of Charles II. in the, 225.
 Italy, find of a penny *temp.* St. Æthelberht of East Anglia in, 73.

J.

JACKSON, MAJOR R. P., Indian Army (Retired):—
 Coin collecting in Mysore, 287-340, 445.
 " " the Deccan, 263-285.
 Some copper coins issued by the English East India Co. and other European Powers in Southern India, 341-346, 430.
 Jackson, Major R. P., coins of, 266 *et seq.*, 430, 431.
 " " exhibits by, 429.
 Jahan, Malwa issues of Shan, 277, 283.
 Jahandar Shah, coins of, 279.
 Jaipur state, 285.
 Jalal-ud-din Firoz Shah II., 275.
 Jalna, coins of the Bāhmāni kings from, 280-282.
 Jalu', the cyclic year, 306.
Jam Florescit medal of Charles II., 248, 251, 252.
 James, Prince, on the "Children of Charles I." medal, 194.
 " I. and Prince Charles, counter of, 155.
 " " by Simon van de Passe, 159.
 " " coin weights of, 198.
 " " coins of, 147, 148, 150, 169, 170.
 " " effigy of, 225.
 " " first English unit, 147.
 " " gravers, etc., in the mint of, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 155, 163, 165.
 " " lowered value of the coinage during reign of, 151, 152.
 " " medals of, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164.
 " " peace-with-Spain medal of, 159, 160, 162.
 " " personality and character of, 145, 146, 159, 161, 165, 166, 167, 168.
 " " portrait of, on a silver-gilt box, 155, 157.
 " " portraits of, 153 *et seq.*
 " " Scottish coinage of, 169-170.
 " " stories told of, 152, 167, 168, 169.
 " " naval rewards of Elizabeth and, 157.

- James I., the hat on coins of, 159, 160.
 " touchpieces of, 149.
 " VI. of Scotland, hat piece of, 158.
 Janssen, painter, 153.
 Jaora state, 285.
 Jaunpur, coins of the Sultans of, 284.
 Jerusalem, hospitals at, for pilgrims, 61.
 Jewish week of seven days, 386.
 John, coins of, found at Dunwich, 125,
 128-131, 444.
 " " *temp.*, 376, 379.
 " portraiture on coins of, 376.
 " reproduces the last type of Henry
 II., 376.
 Johnson, Laurence, rare print of James I.
 by, 153.
 " Martin, seal cutter, 219.
 Jonson, Ben, James I. and, 167, 168.
 Judge's black cap, probable origin of, 368.
 Jug, find of bronze, at Kirklington, 438.
 Julia Domna, find of moulds for coins of,
 26.
 " Mamæa, find of moulds for coins
 of, 26.
 Julian and Augustan months, the, 389-391.
 " Calendar, 396.
 " " concerning the, 395-399,
 401, 402.
 Julius Cæsar and the Roman calendar,
 390-399.
 " inferior bronze and copper coinage
 of, 44.
 Julius III., Pope, medal struck by, for
 marriage of Philip and Mary, 426.
 Junair, 282.
Junonia ales, the bird on imperial coins, 8.
 Juxon Medal compared with Briot's work,
 181.
 " " the, and its designer, 178,
 179.

K.

- Kali*, wife of *Siva*, 300, 335.
 Kalimallah Shah, coins of, 281.
 Kanarese, coins of, 297 *et seq.*
 Kenyon, Mr., on the gold mancus of Offa,
 67.
 Ketteringham, Norfolk, find of Roman
 minimi in a tumulus
 at, 430.
 Khalakhabad mint of Haidar, 301.
 " " Tipu, 303, 310,
 314, 317, 329, 330, 332.

- Khartoum, medal for service at, 436.
 Khujsta Bunyad = Aurungabad, 273.
 " " mint of Muhammad
 Bahadur, 272.
 Khurshadsuad, mint of Tipu, 317, 320,
 332.
 Kineton Medal, the, 207.
 King, Alex., official at the mint of James
 I., 149.
 King's Company of Revels and the Bull
 Theatre, 179.
 Kirklington, find of coins *temp.* Tetricus
 and Gallienus at, 438.
 Kneller, Godfrey, the painter, 247.
 Knife, iron, in a tumulus in Norway, 51, 52.
 Knyvet, Sir Thomas, warden of the mint.
 148.
 Krishna Raja Udaiyar, copper coins of,
 336-340.
 Kuchawan state, 285.
 Kukuratee, near Punnah, in Bundelkhand,
 285.
 Kutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah, 275, 276.

L.

- Ladame, Gabriel, artist, 251.
 Lahore mint of Akbar, 277.
Lakshmi consort of the god Vishnu,
 289.
 Lambert, 218.
 Lancaster token, 444.
 Launceston mint, 410.
 Laureate bust on the English coinage, first
 instance of a, 151, 152.
 Laurel of James I., and stories attaching
 to it, 150.
 Laver, Henry, F.S.A., what Colchester
 owes to, 115.
 LAWRENCE, L. A., F.R.S.A. (IRELAND),
Director :—
 The Short-Cross and Long-Cross
 coinage from Henry II. to Henry
 III., 436, 437.
 Lawrence, L. A., and the attribution of
 certain coins to
 Barnstaple thereo-
 fore assigned to
 Bardney, 97.
 " " coins of, 101, 119,
 139, 379.
 " " exhibits by, 418, 429,
 434, 437, 438, 439,
 443.

- Lawrence, L. A., William I. and types of Colchester, due to, 118, 119.
- Le Sueur, Hubert, 200, 201, 202.
- " " statue by, and its curious history, 200 *et seq.*
- Leap year and its intercalated day, 392, 393.
- Leicester mint of Harold I., 422.
- Lely, Sir Peter, the painter, 218, 247, 248, 256, 261.
- Leo III., Pope, his letter to Coenwulf, 63-65, 455.
- Leofric Missal*, extract from, 393.
- Lêofrôn, Queen of Æthelred, 80, 81.
- Lettering, arrangement in the, advances, 363.
- " on Plantagenet coins, variations in, 143.
- Lewes, gold piece of Æthelred II. struck at, 69, 70.
- Lincoln, coins of William II., formerly attributed to Bridport, 106.
- " find of leaden sestertii in, 27.
- " mint represented in the Dunwich finds, 126.
- " Edgar, exhibits by, 447.
- " W. S. and Son, coins of, 103, 380.
- Lion on coins of Mysore, 337, 338, 339.
- Littleton, Lord Keeper, 209.
- Loggan, David, the artist, 246.
- Lombard, Peter, the engraver, 224.
- London mint established in the reign of Diocletian, 32, 33.
- " mint of Magnus Maximus, 77.
- " " Alfred, 378.
- " " Edgar, 379.
- " " Stephen, 447.
- " " Henry III., 379, 436.
- " " Edward I., 133, 134.
- " " Edward III., 134.
- " " Richard II., 134.
- " " Henry VIII., 380.
- " " Elizabeth, 380.
- " " represented in the Dunwich finds, 126.
- LONDONIA, monogrammic design on coins of Alfred, 364.
- Lorraine, Duke of, 189.
- Louis d'or struck by J. P. Droz, 358.
- " le Débonnaire, coins of, 67, 69, 446.
- " IX., staurat drachma of, 71.
- Louis XIII., coins of, 187, 188.
- " XIV.'s derision of English Court dress, *temp.* Charles II., 244.
- Louvel, William, disguises himself as a yokel, 375.
- Lowestoft, medal to celebrate Battle of, 244, 245.
- Lucca, gold pieces struck by Charlemagne at, 67.
- Lugga, County Meath, Ireland, Cufic coins found at, 61.
- LUL for LULLA, moneyer's name on coins of Æthelberht, 74 *et seq.*
- LVL the moneyer on coins of Offa and Coenwulf, 80.
- Lulls, Arnold, king's jeweller, 163.
- Lundy's Lane, Battle of, 418.
- Lydford, its service, 98, 100, 104.
- " mint of Æthelred II., 104.
- " " Cnut, 104.
- " " Edward the Confessor, 104.
- Lyons mint of Constantine II. and Constantians, 27.
- Lyte Jewel, the, and a portrait of James I., 153, 154.
- " Thomas, 154.

M.

- M = Mercia, associated with coins struck at the Mercia mint of Derby and possibly Chester, 87, 88, 96.
- Machlipatam = Masulipatam, 278.
- McLachlan, R. W., donation of coins by, 421.
- Macrinus, find of moulds for producing coins of, 26.
- Madras Presidency, copper coins of the, 341-343.
- Mahbubia rupee, the, 264, 265, 271.
- Mahmud Shah, coins of, 283.
- " " II., coins of, 281, 283.
- " " III., Bin Latif, coins of, 283.
- " Shan bin Ala-ad-din Hasan, coins of, 281.
- Maitland and the coins of Charles II., 232.
- Maldon and the Colchester mint, 118.
- " Domesday account of, 121.
- " King Edward established burgh of, in 920, 120.

- Maldon mint, history of, 120-122.
 " " of William II., 122.
 " Waleram probably arranged for the re-opening of the mint at, 121.
 Malmesbury, find of coins *temp.* William I. at, 102.
 Malpur mint of Akbar, 277.
 Malvern Abbey, reproduction of reverse design from Stephen's coins on tiles at, 376.
 Malwa, Sultans of, coins of the, 266, 283, 284.
 Man on horseback on coins of Mysore, 294.
 " Mancus of gold," 60.
Mancus of Offa, King of Mercia, the gold, 55-72, 446, 454, 455.
 " " " gold, as to date when struck, 63.
 " " " " description of the, 55, 56.
 " " " " extract from Ruding on the history and provenance of the, 58.
 " " " " weight and equivalent in value of the, 56.
 " " silver, 58.
 " on the Arabic origin of the, 59 *et seq.*, 455.
 " " " derivation of the word, 58, 59, 455.
 " struck for tribute to Rome, 67, 455.
 " becomes a certain weight of gold, 58.
 " the silver, of the Anglo-Saxons, and the *dirhem*, 59.
 " Mancus," the term, 57 *et seq.*
 " value of the gold, 57 *et seq.*
 Manoel of Portugal, His Majesty King, letter of condolence to, and acknowledgment of same, 419, 420, 448.
 Mantagna, Andrea, cartoons of, 219.
 Manuel of Portugal, coin of, 447.
 Map showing the gold coining countries of the eighth century drawn by Lord Grantley, 66, 67, 68, 455.
 Marden, Æthelberht buried at, 82.
 Margam Abbey, the Conbelin cross at, 362.
 Marlow, purchased the dies, etc., of Simon, 219, 259.
 Marne, find of staters and gold bullets in the Dept. of the, 430.
 Marshall, Joshua, pedestal executed in marble for the statue of Charles I., 202.
 Martin, Sir Richard, 163.
 " " Thomas, Master of the Mint of James I., 150.
 Marwar state, 285.
 Mary, Princess, on the *Children of Charles I.* medal, 194.
 " coins of, 424.
 " Philip and, coins of, 425.
 " I., medals of, 426.
 Maryport, Cumberland, find of leaden denarii of Trajan and Hadrian at, 27.
 Masulipatam mint of Aurangzib, 278.
 Mathematical instruments signed Barthelmewe Newsum, *temp.* Elizabeth, 427.
 Matilda, Empress, 439, 440.
 " Matutine period," suggested name for the hours between midnight and dawn, 383.
 Maundy money of Simon, 232.
 Maximinius, find of moulds for producing coins of, 26.
 Maximus, find of moulds for producing coins of, 26.
 " Magnus, latest known issues of the London mint were under, 32.
 " " solidus of, struck in London, 77.
 Maxwell-Lyte, Sir Henry, 154.
 Mecca, date of Muhammad's flight from, 307, 308.
 Medals of James I., the weight and cost of gold, 165.
 Mediæval moneyer's pass, 19.
 Members of the Society, 469.
 Menology that precedes the annals in the Abingdon Chronicle, 398.
 Mercia, the shilling of, equalled four pennies, 62.
 Mercury, head of, on the obverse of the Sextans, 4.
 Merkel's Roman calendar as observed in the Augustan age, 403.
 Mestrell, milled method by, 175.
 Metals, which drew the Phœnicians to Britain, 46.

- Mewar state, 285.
 Middlesex tokens, 434.
 "Military chests" of garrisons, many of the finds of Roman coins appear to have been, 28.
 Mill and engines *versus* the hammer in coining, 174, 175, 235, 236.
 " " screw process established by Blondeau at the Mint, 239, 240.
 Miller, H. C., coins of, 110.
 " " exhibits by, 422.
 "Milling," the use of the word, 175, 176.
 Minley Manor, bust of Charles I. at, 200.
Mint and Early Britain, The Roman, 1-50, 440, 441.
Mint mark, The cross as a, 135-144, 423.
 Mint towns of Tipu, 332.
 Minting, method of, depicted on the Pompeian fresco, 6 *et seq.*
 " of the larger bronze coin, number of persons employed in, at Rome, 11.
Mints, Histories of the, of William I. and II. Part II, continued, 97-122.
 Mir Mahbub Ali Khan, coins of, 270.
 Mitre—a mere bonnet—seen on the coins of Ceolnoth, 371.
 "Mitred" helmet, the so-called *temp.* Canute, 371.
 Moghuls and Pathán, a comparison of the coins of the, 344.
 Mogul Emperors of India, 277-280.
 Moline, cross, 137.
 Money-changers in the Deccan, 265 *et seq.*
 "Money of necessity" of Roman period or plated denarii, 24.
 Moneyer, originally both designer of the dies and responsible for the coins, 74.
 " in Domesday Book, 105, 106, 108, 111.
 " name of, and name of sovereign on obverse of coin of Æthelberht, 74.
 Moneyer's pass, mediæval, 19.
 Monnaie du Moulin, established in France, 1551, 195.
 Montagu, Edward, Earl of Sandwich, 243.
 " House, portrait of James I. at, 153, 160.
 Morini, gold staters of the, 430.
 Morrieson, Lt.-Col. H. W., coins of, 101, 104, 112, 114, 119, 120, 122.
 " " " donation of two book-cases by, 452.
 " " " exhibits by, 424, 425, 429, 443.
 " " " reference to his article on *The bust of James I.*, 147, 152, 153, 145.
 Motamed Ala'llah, dirhem of, 60, 61.
 Moulds, evidences of slipped, 13.
 " finds of coin, 26.
 " for the flans used for coins, 12, 13.
 Mudie, medals engraved by Droz in series of, 359.
 Muhammad, Bahadur, coins of, 272.
 " bin Tughlaq or Tughlak, coins of, 266, 268, 275, 276, 277.
 " date of birth and flight of, 307, 308.
 " Shah, coins of, 281.
 " " Bahman Ghazi, coins of, 280, 282.
 " " "Bigara," coins of, 283.
 " " II., coins of, 282.
 Muhammadan issues of Mysore coins, 288, 300-332.
 Muizz-ud-din Bahram Shah, coins of, 275.
 " " Kaikubad, 275.
 Mules, as determining the order of issues, 144.
 Munda in Hindu mythology, 335.
 MVNVS DIVINVM, on a gold piece of Wigmund, Archbishop of York, 69, 70.
 " " on coins of Louis le Débonnaire, 69, 70.
 Muzaffar Shah II., coins of, 283.
 Mysore, coins of, 445.
Mysore, Coin Collecting in, 287-340, 445.

Mysore coins, mintage of, 288 *et seq.*
 „ Major R. P. Jackson's coins of, 429.
 „ mint of Krishna Raja Udaiyar, 337, 338, 339, 340.
 „ of Shah Alam, 333-335.
 Mytens, court painter, 192, 194.

N.

Nagar mint of Haidar, 300, 302.
 „ „ Tipu, 302 *et seq.*
 Nagler on the date of Rawlins' birth and appointment as engraver, 179, 180.
 Napoleon I., design for head of, by J. P. Droz, 359.
 Nara-Singh avatar, 289.
 Narnol mint of Akbar, 277.
 Nasir Shah, coins of, 283.
 Nāsir-ud-din Ismail, coin of, 282.
 „ Mahmud Shah, coins of, 275.
 Natal medal, 432.
 Naval medals of Charles II., 244, 245, 246.
 „ „ Elizabeth and James I., the ark and the dove on the, 157.
 Navy, Charles II.'s pride in his, 244.
 Nazarbar mint of Tipu, 313, 331, 332.
 Nazir-ad-daulah, coins of, 272, 273.
 Necklace found in a tumulus in Norway, 51.
 Negapatam mint of Dutch India, 343, 344, 429.
 Nero and the Roman mint, 6, 31.
 New Calicut = Farakhi, 313.
 Newark mint of Stephen, 440.
 Newcastle, Henry II. and the mint at, 113.
 Niagara, capture of Fort, 418.
 Nicolas, Sir N. H., and the Concurrent Days, 400.
 Normandy, the sword the ducal badge of, 374.
 Northampton, town pieces issued by authority of the town chamberlain, 433.
 Northamptonshire, the token coinage of, 433.
 Norwich mint of Athelstan, 378.
 „ „ „ Henry I., 418.
 „ tokens, 434.
Nos penes imperium medal of Charles II., 244, 245.

Nottingham, Charles Howard, Earl of, portrayed on a silver gilt box, 156.
 Nuggar mint of Sekandar Jah, 274.
 Numerical denominations added on coins of Henry III., 377.
Nundinae, on the connotation of the, 384, 385.
 Nundinal period, or Roman week, 384, 385.

O.

O for York on coin of Anlaf, 86, 87.
 Odo, his rebellion against Rufus, 114.
 Offa, King of Mercia, 80 *et seq.*
 „ „ „ „ a coin of, found in a Viking-age burial at Voss, Norway, 51-54, 455.
 „ „ „ „ associated Ecgrith with him as joint king of the Mercians, 63.
 „ „ „ „ coins of, 74, 75, 77, 79, 80, 84, 362, 363, 378, 443.
 „ „ „ „ introduction of the penny in the reign of, 362.
 „ „ „ „ *the gold mancus* of, 55-72, 446, 454, 455.
 „ „ „ „ gold mancus of, a copy of a Mussulman dinar, 56, 454.
 „ „ „ „ gold mancus struck for tribute at Rome, 67, 69, 70.
 „ „ „ „ Arabic legend on the coin of, 65-68.
 „ „ „ „ penny of, found in Norway, used as a pendant, 52, 53.
 „ „ „ „ portraiture on the penny of, 362, 363.
 „ „ „ „ treachery of, towards Æthelberht, 80 *et seq.*
 „ „ „ „ visited by Legates, 63.

- "Offering pennies," probably shillings of Wessex, 62.
- Officers and Council of the Society, Session 1908, 413, 414.
- " " " of the Society, Session 1909, 453, 454.
- Officina* of the mint at Rome, 3, 9.
- OGDEN, W. SHARP:—
The Roman Mint and Early Britain, 1-50, 440, 441.
- Ogden, W. Sharp, engravings in possession of, 224.
- " " " exhibits by, 422.
- " " " prints of, 153, 192, 247, 256.
- Oliver, Isaac, miniaturist, 153, 154, 213, 214.
- Orford fined for supplying the king's enemies with corn, 124.
- Oriental Cycle of the Concurrent Days, the, 407.
- Orkney, hoards of Eastern coins and ornaments discovered in, 61, 62.
- Orkneyinga Saga*, *The*, extract from, on the finds of Eastern coins and ornaments, 61, 62.
- Ornaments found in a tumulus in Norway, 51, 52.
- " substitution of, for legend on coins of Stephen, 376.
- Oswego captured, 418.
- Otford, Offa's victory over the Kentish men at, 64.
- Overbury, Sir Thomas, 157.
- Overstruck pieces of Postumus, 23.
- Overton, H., printer *temp.* Queen Anne, 201.
- Oxford, Briot follows Charles I. to, 186.
- " death of Briot at, 205.
- " mint of Charles I., 204, 205, 206, 207.
- " surrender of, 210.
- P.
- (P) mint-mark on shilling of Charles I., 208.
- Page, Samuel, exhibits by, 444.
- Parkhurst, Sir William, Warden of the Mint of Charles I., 174, 181-186, 205, 207, 227, 242.
- Parnell, silver medal of, 436.
- Parsons, H. A., exhibits by, 429.
- Partabgarh state, 285.
- Parvati*, wife of *Siva*, 300, 333, 335.
- Pathan kings of Delhi, 275-277.
- " " " " coins of the, 265.
- Patonce, cross, 142.
- Pattée, cross, 136, 137, 142, 143.
- Pattern Halfpennies of 1788 and 1790, by J. P. Droz, 347-360.
- " Pattern penny" of Edward I., 135, 136.
- " piece, a probable, of Mysore, 299.
- PAX** and **PACX** on Saxon and Norman coins, 370-373.
- Peace or War medal, 207.
- Peace with Spain medal of James I., 159, 160, 162.
- Peacock on coins of Mysore, 294, 295.
- Peada, King of Mercia, coins of, 76, 84.
- Peck, Dr. Herbert, exhibits by, 436.
- Pelle, Honnore, bust of Charles II., signed, 247.
- Pellets on the penny of Offa, 362.
- " separating the words of the present money date back to Saxon times, 378.
- " three, as the emblem of the Trinity, on Saxon and early coins, 37 *et seq.*
- Pembroke mint, 410.
- Penny, Evolution of Portraiture on the Silver*, 361-380.
- Pepin, 67.
- Pepys, extract from his diary on the coins of Oliver Cromwell, 215.
- Perspective, Saxon coins show a knowledge of, 366.
- Perth mint of William the Lion, 432.
- Peterborough mint of William I., 98.
- " town pieces issued at, 433, 434.
- Peter's Pence, 67, 69, 70.
- " " the grant of Offa, the origin of, 66.
- Petition crown of Charles II., 223, 241, 242, 244, 247, 248.
- Peverel, Ranulf, 121.
- Pewter, a trial crown of Simon in, 241.
- Phelip of London, the moneyer, 436.
- Philip and Mary, coins of, 425.
- " " " medals of, 426.
- " II. of Macedon, the theory that the coins of the ancient Britons are degraded copies of the Greek stater of, questioned, 46, 47.

Phoenicians, descendants of, in Wales, etc., 45, 46.
 „ drawn by our metals, to Britain, 46.
 „ traders and tin, 30, 36, 39, 42, 43.
 „ Julius Cæsar and the, 42.
Piedforts, patterns for French, 187.
 Pierced cross mint-mark of Henry VI., 141.
 Pighio, Stephen Vinando, 403.
 Pillon, Jean, *contrôleur général des Monnaies*, 189.
 Pingo, 422.
 Pipalneri, Indian silver coin, 269.
 Pistan Shahi, Indian silver coin, 269.
 Planets and the days of the week, 389.
 Plaque, by Simon van de Passe, 159.
 Plaques of bronze from the statue of Charles I., 201.
 Plate armour invented, 376.
 Plated denarii issued in later consular times, 24.
 „ „ the probable use for, 24.
 Plautilla, finds of moulds for producing coins of, 26.
 Polden Hill, in Somerset, find of Roman coin moulds at, 26, 441.
 Polygars of Ikkeri, the, 300.
Polyolbion, Drayton's, 213.
 Pompeian fresco, description of the, 6 *et seq.*
 Pondicherry mint of France, 345, 346.
 Port St. Mary, find of coins *temp.*, tenth century at, 85.
 Portcullis countermark on coins of Edward VI., 425.
 Portland, Lord, 201.
Portraiture of our Stuart Monarchs on their Coins and Medals, Part I, 145-262.
Portraiture on the Silver Penny, Evolution of, 361-380.
 Postumus, find of forgeries of coins ranging from Antoninus Pius to, 27.
 „ re-stamps the earlier sestertii, 23.
 „ the last emperor to issue first bronze coin, 23.
 Presentation to Mr. Carlyon-Britton, *President*, of his portrait, 456-463.
 Proceedings of the Society, 411-468.
 Ptolemies, coins of the, 14, 15.

Ptolemies, different theories to account for the pin-holes in coins of the, 15.
 Pulicat mint of Dutch India, 344.
 Puttun = "City" for Seringapatam, 301.
 „ mint of Haidar, 301.
 „ „ „ Tipu, 303 *et seq.*
 Pyton = Putton mint, coins of, 285.

Q.

Quarringtonshire, 113.
 Queen of Hearts, Elizabeth, sister of Charles I. the, 193.
 Quendritha for Cynethryth, 81.
 Quiberon, 417.

R.

Raleigh, Sir Walter, portrait of, on a silver-gilt box, 156.
 Ralph, the "drawer of canarie," 167, 168.
 Ramage, David, 226, 227, 238, 239.
 „ death of, 238.
 Ramayana, the heroic poem of the, 290.
 Raphael cartoons, the, 219.
 Rawlins, 242, 244, 245, 246, 250, 251.
 „ and his tragedy, "The Rebel-lion," 179.
 „ appointed engraver to Charles I., 180.
 „ Juxon medal attributed to, 178.
 „ Thomas, the engraver, 178-181, 183, 203, 205, 206, 207, 208, 210, 211, 226, 227, 228.
 „ Thomas, the high sheriff of Essex, 180.
 „ „ the work of, 183, 227.
 Reading mint of Edward III., 138.
 „ on its tokens, 434.
 Ready, A. P., donation of mounted casts of Anglo-Saxon coins by, 435.
Recercalée, cross, 137.
 Reddite Crown of Charles II., 240, 241.
 Regnier, Pierre, 188, 190.
 Render to Cæsar, etc., on a pattern half-penny, by Droz, 349, 351.
 Report of the Council, 448 *et seq.*
 Re-stamping Roman coins, 23.
 Return-to-London medals of Charles I., 181, 182.

- Revett, John, and the bronze statue of Charles I., 201.
- Review:—By W. J. Andrew, of *Coins and how to know them*, by Gertrude B. Rawlings, 409, 410.
- Reynolds, John, official at the mint of James I., 149.
- Rheims, Council of, 67.
- Rhuddlan mint, *temp.* Richard I., 379.
- Ribchester tokens, 434.
- Rich, Sir Robert, Master of Chancery, 173.
- Richard I., coins of, found at Dunwich, 125, 128–131, 444.
- " " coins *temp.*, 376, 379.
- " " portraiture on coins of, 376.
- " " reproduces the last type of Henry II., 376.
- " II., coins of, 125, 134, 445.
- " " varieties of cross on coins of, 139.
- Rivet, John, *see* Revett, 201.
- Rochester, Henry I.'s effigy at, 375.
- " Lord, 234.
- " mint of Harthacnut, 422.
- Roettier, 176.
- " competition between Simon and, 235 *et seq.*
- " James, 259.
- " John, 198, 234 *et seq.*
- " " medal of Charles I., by, 199.
- " Joseph, 234, 235, 253, 258, 259.
- " " afterwards chief engraver in the mint at Paris, 253, 259.
- " Norbert, 198, 253, 259.
- " Philip, 253, 258, 259.
- Roettiers, financial position of the, 257, 258, 259.
- " the, 223 *et seq.*
- Roger, Richard, Controller, 149, 150.
- Rogers, Controller of the Mint of Charles I., 174.
- Rolles, Sir Robert, medal for, 207.
- Rom-feoh or Peter's Pence, 69, 70.
- Roman bronze coinage compared with the Greek, 5.
- " calendar months, concerning the names of the, 396, 397.
- " " of Merkel, as observed in the Augustan age, 403.
- Roman coinage and its origin, 3, 5 *et seq.*
- " coins, positions of the dies when striking, 18, 19.
- " " variety of type, design and fabric of, 3.
- " history, records of, on the coinage, 1 *et seq.*
- " minimi, find of, in a tumulus at Ketteringham, Norfolk, 430.
- " " in bronze, imitation of, 432.
- Roman Mint and Early Britain, The*, 1–50, 440, 441.
- Roman mint, early history of the, 2, 3 *et seq.*
- " prototypes for Saxon devices, 75–77.
- " rule in Britain, effect of, 48, 49.
- Romans attracted to Britain by its mines, 42.
- Rome, alms sent by various Saxon kings to, 66.
- " mancus struck for tribute to, 67.
- Romulus and Remus on coins of Æthelberht, 75, 76.
- Roos, Lord, extract from letter from Lady Chaworth to, 247.
- Rose on the King's breast on coins of Edward I., 136.
- Rosenheim, Max, donation of coins by, 435.
- " exhibits by, 426, 427.
- ROTH, BERNARD, *Vice-President*:—
A Hoard of Staters and Gold Bullets discovered in the Dept. of the Marne in November, 1905, 430.
- Roth, Bernard, coins of, 102, 430.
- " " exhibits by, 430, 434, 436.
- Rothschild, Baron Ferdinand, jewels of, 154.
- Royal Oak, medal designed for the Knights of the, 252.
- Royalist badges, reference to Miss Helen Farquhar's paper on, 200.
- Ruff, concerning the, 157, 168, 169.
- Rühl, Professor, and the *feria*, 388, 400, 401, 404, 406.
- Runic characters on Saxon coins, 76.
- " letters on coins of Æthelberht, 74, 75.
- " " Saxon coins, 84.

Ruslinger, John, under-graver to the mint, 149.

Rutlam state, 285.

Ryvett, John, *see* Revett, 201, 202.

S.

Sabbath, on the use of the word, 383, 384.

St. Æthelberht, King of East Anglia, a penny of, 73, 84.

" " King of East Anglia, coins of, 84.

" " King of East Anglia, pedigree of the penny of, 78.

" " King of East Anglia, possible claimant to the penny of, 79.

" " King of East Anglia, records of, 80 *et seq.*

" Ambrose of Milan, 387.

" Cuthberht and his association with Durham, 113.

" Cuthbert of Durham, banner of, 375.

" David's Mint, 410.

" Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, sceptre on the coins of Ethelred II., probably owes its introduction to the influence of, 369.

" Eadmund, memorial coinage of, 120.

" Edward, arms assigned to, 142.

" Germans and Crediton, *see* of, 100.

" Jean d'Acre, gold besant struck by Crusaders at, 72.

" John of Beverley, banner of, 375.

" Mary Hill Church, find of coins *temp.* William I. at, 101, 111.

" Matthias' Day, to be kept on Feb. 25th, in each leap year, 393.

" Peter, annulets probably represented the ring of, 365.

" Peter, of York, banner of, 375.

" Thomé, find of Indian coins at, 342.

" Wandregisilus = St. Vandrille, 111.

" Wilfred of Ripon, banner of, 375.

" Wilfrid, concerning the day of the death of, 383.

" Willibald and his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, 68.

Salaanha Bay, surrender of the Dutch fleet at, 417.

Salamabad mint of Tipu, 314, 316, 319, 332.

Salar Jung, Sir, introduces the Halli Sicca rupee, 264.

Saltus, J. Sanford, donation of coins by, 421, 435.

Samanian Dynasty, find of dirhems of the, at Goldborough, 62.

Sancho, Alfonzo, son of, 71.

Sandwich, Edward Montagu, Earl of, 243.

Sara, the cyclic year, 311.

Saracens had a settlement at Provence, 61.

Satara, coins of the Mahratta kings of, 284.

" mint of Nazir-ad-daulah, 273.

Saturn, Temple of, containing the *Æra-rum* of Rome, 9.

Satyamangalam = Salamabad, 314.

Saxon coins found at Goldborough, 61.

" coins, many hundreds, found in Rome, 73.

" devices, Roman prototypes for, 75-77.

" gold coinage, 69.

" sceattas, find of, near Franeker, Friesland, 429.

Scandinavia, importation of Anglo-Saxon coins into, 53.

Sceatta-like pennies of Beonna, king of East Anglia, 75.

" penny supersedes the Saxon, 361.

" find of a, at Bitterne, in Hampshire, 76.

Sceattas, sceptre on Saxon, 369.

Sceptre brought into further prominence on Saxon coins, 371.

" introduction of the, on coins of Ethelred II., 369, 370.

" mint-mark of Charles I., concerning the, 209.

" on coins of Henry III., 436.

SCHETELIG, HAAKON, *Doct. Phil., Curator of the Bergen Museum* :—

A coin of Offa found in a Viking-age burial at Voss, Norway, 51-54, 455.

Scotland, Æthelstan ravages part of, 89.

" and Ireland, Thomas Simon graves several seals for, 288.

" Attempted-Union Medal of England and, 161, 162.

" Eastern coins and ornaments discovered in the north of, 61, 62.

" silver brooch in the national costume of, 367.

" the great seal of, made by Briot, 175.

- Scottish coinage of James I., 169, 170.
 " " " Charles II., 232, 233.
 " coronation medal, Charles I.'s, 197, 198.
 " objection to the Union of England and Scotland, 162.
 Screw press, description of a Roman, 17.
 Seal, etc., of England, Briot makes the Great, 175.
 Seals, Great, etc., of the Stuart period, 148, 173, 175, 209, 210, 217, 225, 226, 228, 233, 234, 235.
 Seltman, E. J., and the Pompeian fresco, 9.
 Septimana, the days of the, 385-389.
 Septimius Severus, find of moulds for coins of, 26.
 Seringapatam, 301, 304, 310, 318, 331, 333.
 " fall of, 289.
 " mint of Haider, 302.
 " " " Tipu, 303 *et seq.*
 Sestertii, find of leaden, in Lincoln, 27.
 " " " " in the Thames, 27.
 " Postumus the last emperor to issue, 23.
 Seventeenth century tokens, some unpublished, 433.
 Severus, 42.
 " Septimius, restores the currency, 31, 45.
 " " historical connection with Britain attested on the coinage of, 32.
 Seymour, Sir Edward, Charles II.'s rejection of, as Speaker, 242.
 Shad, the cyclic year, 325.
 Shaftesbury mint, history of, 108-110.
 " " number of moneys under Edward the Confessor, 109.
 " " of Æthelstan, 108.
 " " " William I., 109.
 " " " II., 110.
 " " " Henry I., 379.
 " " under the Laws of Æthelstan, 108.
 Shah 'Alam coins of, 333-335.
 " Alam II., 273, 274.
 Shams-ud-din Altamsh, King of Delhi, coins of, 275.
 Sharp, S., coins of, 99.
 Shata, the cyclic year, 317.
 Sherwin, print engraver, 224.
 Shillings of Ælfred probably derived from the Arabic dirhem, 62.
 " Saxon, 62.
 Sholapur mint of Aurangzib, 278.
 " " " Shah Alam II., 280.
 Short-cross question, the, 436.
 Shrewsbury mint of William II., a possible attribution of a pierced coin to, 110.
 " mint of Charles I., 205, 206.
 Shrirangpatnam = Seringapatam, 301.
 Siddercombe tries to fire Whitehall, 216.
 Sihtric, king of the Northumbrians, 365.
 " death of, 88.
 Sikandar Jah, coins of, 272, 273, 274.
 Silvering, an art well understood by most Celtic peoples, 25.
 " or tinning of Roman coins, 25.
 Silvester, Pope, and the days of the week, 386.
 Simon, 176.
 " Abraham, 222, 252.
 " and Roettier, competition between, 235 *et seq.*
 " great seal of 1639-1640, probably made by, 185.
 " journeys to France, 229, 230.
 " Thomas, concerning the widow and son of, 259.
 " " death of, 227, 246.
 " " engraver, 185 *et seq.*
 " " extract from the accounts of, 229.
 " " warrants to, 220, 221.
 Sirab, the cyclic year, 315.
 Siva, 333.
 " Hindu god representing principle of destruction and of reproduction, 300.
 Sivaji, coins of, 284.
 Slingsby, Henry, deputy and master of the mint *temp.* Charles II., 230, 236, 254.
 Soho, coin presses established at, 358.
 Solar Cycle, the, 405-406.
 Solstice, explanation of the terms summer and winter, 391, 392.
 Somerset, James I. and his promise of £20,000 to, 167.
 Sosigenes, and the intercalation of one day in leap year, 392.
 Sotheby and Co., donation of books by, 421.

- Soudan, medal for service in the, 436.
 Sous d'or of Charlemagne, 67.
 South Africa, medal for, 436.
 " African coins, 436.
 Southampton mint of Eadwig, 94.
 " " William II., 379.
 Southern India, coins of, 285.
 " " some copper coins issued by the English East India Company and other European Powers in, 341-346.
 Spaniards, James I. and the, 159, 160.
 Spanish Ambassador, letter by the, concerning James I., 146.
 " prize money to be used for Cromwell's coinage, 217.
 Spilman, John, royal jeweller, 166.
 Spink and Son, coins of, 365, 380.
 " S. M., exhibits by, 425.
 Stafford mint, 410.
 " " of Henry II., 379.
 Stamford Bridge, battle of, 373.
 Standard, battle of the, 375.
 Star on coins of Mysore, 296.
 Staters found in the Dept. of the Marne, 430.
 "Staurat" drachma of Louis IX., 71, 446.
 Stent, print publisher, 224.
 Stephen, coins of, 375, 379, 438, 439, 440, 447.
 " cut coins of, 126, 128, 444.
 " of Holland, engraver, 426, 427.
 " portraiture on coins of, 375, 376.
Stephen, The Coinage of, 439, 440.
 Stepney, never a place of mintage, 410.
 Stevenson, Mr. W. H., and the *septima feria*, 383.
 Stockholm, Cufic coins in the museum of, 62.
 Stone, Nicholas, and the story of the Italian Bernini, 248.
 Stoney Creek, 418.
 STV = Stutesberia (Tutbury), 440.
Stuart Monarchs on their coins and medals, Portraiture of our, Part I, 145-262.
 Sturton-le-Steeple, Notts, find of a silver half-gros of Henry IV. at, 444.
 Stutesberia, Robert de = Robert de Ferrers, 440.
 Stutville, Robert de, concerning the coin assigned to, 440.
 "Stycas," in the earlier editions of the Bible, 126.
 Suen, 121.
 Sun and moon on coins of Mysore, 296, 336, 337, 338, 339.
 Sunday letter, the 401, 402.
 " or Dominical Letters and their Cycle, 404-407.
 Surat mint of Aurangzib, 277, 278, 279.
 Sussex, Æthelberht, King of, no coins known of, 79.
 Swallow, Paul, surveyor of the melting, 149, 150.
 " Thomas, clerk of the irons, etc., 226.
 Swallowe, 242.
 Swanne Tavern, Charing Cross, 168.
 Sword appears on coins of William I., 374.
 " the ducal badge of Normandy, 374.
 " type of, *temp.* William I., 374.
 Symonds, H., coins of, 107, 109, 111, 112.
 Syncellus, Georgius, and his "Chronography," 398.
 Synod at Cealchyth, 63.
 Syrian bronze of good quality, 44.
- T.
- "Tabula Maffiana" marble slab found in 1547, 403.
 Taffs, H. W., exhibits by, 444.
 Tagara, the ancient, 268.
 Tamworth, find of coins, *temp.* William II. at, 103, 108, 110, 120, 122.
 " tokens, 444.
 Tancred, coin attributed to the regency of Bohemund I. of Antioch under, 72.
 Tarquinius Superbus and the observance of the *Feriae*, 382.
 Tarshish and the trade in metals, 43.
 Tassels on coins of Edgar and later, introduction and meaning of the, 368, 369.
 Taunton mint of Harthacnut, 379, 422.
 Taylor, the late W. J., dies for Droz patterns acquired by, 352, 354.
 Temple, Sir William, extract from, on Charles II., 261.
 Terra-cotta matrices for the casting of the flans, description of, 10, 11, 12, 13.
Tertius denarius, the term, 98, 100.
 Tertullian, 381.
 Tetricus and Gallienus, find of coins, *temp.*, at Kirklington, 438.

- Tewkesbury Abbey, reproduction of design of Stephen's coins on tiles at, 376.
- Thames, find of leaden sestertii in the, 27.
- Theodosius, the code of, 386.
- Theophylact, Legates George and, visit Offa, 63, 65.
- Tiberius, Charles II.'s appearance compared with that of the Emperor, 249, 250.
- " coinage of, 31, 44.
- Tibet and the rupee issued by Emperor of China, 443.
- Tibullus, the poet, 388.
- Tibur, the ancient, 73.
- Tiger on coins of Mysore, 299.
- Tin, countries reputed to have produced, 33.
- " discovery of, in Britain, 45.
- " obtained from S.W. Britain, 34, 36.
- " the value of, to the ancients, 33, 44.
- Tin-washed Roman coins, 25.
- Tinning and silverings understood by Celtic peoples, 25.
- Tippo Saib, single paisah of, 443.
- Tipu, 301 *et seq.*
- " invents the abbas cycle, 311.
- " list of mint towns of, 332.
- " new system of dating with letters, by, 327.
- " retains his father's initial on his coins, 304.
- " Sultan, 288.
- " " coins of, 299, 302, 303-332, 327, 340.
- Tivoli, find of a penny of St. Æthelberht of East Anglia at, 73.
- Toka mint, coins of, 284.
- Tokens, debased, current in the Deccan, 264, 265.
- " for *ind.* of 1805, strikings in lead of the, 421, 422.
- Toledo mint of Alfonso VIII., of Castile, 71.
- Torculum or screw press of Hadrian, 16, 17.
- Torrigiano, 225.
- Totnes, coinage of Barnstaple transferred to, 104.
- " Domesday account of, 103, 104.
- " its service, 98, 100, 104.
- " mint, history of, 103-105.
- " " of Æthelred II., 104.
- Totnes, mint of Chut, 104.
- " " " William II., 104.
- " Roger de Nunant and the honour of, 99.
- Touch-pieces, concerning, 149.
- Tower mint, the Parliament seized the, 205.
- " " of Charles I., 208.
- Tradesmen's tokens executed by Rawlins, 207.
- Trajan and Hadrian, find of leaden denarii of, at Maryport, in Cumberland, 27.
- " coins of, overstruck by Postumus, 23.
- " imperfect work on coins of, 16.
- Tranquebar mint, 429.
- Treasure trove, concerning the law of, and its administration, 85, 86.
- Treves mint of Constantine II. and Constans, 27.
- " " " Valentinian I., 77.
- Trial piece by Droz, unfinished, 354.
- " pieces by Droz of 1788 and 1790, 352-354.
- Tribute from Britain probably paid in such metals as copper and tin, 48.
- " money, coins probably struck for, 67.
- Trientes, gold sceattas or, 77.
- Tufnell, Captain R. H. C., reference to his catalogue of the Bangalore Museum, 287 *et seq.*
- Tulloch, F. M. G., medal awarded for the study of sleeping sickness, 444.
- Tumulus in Norway, description of a, containing a coin of Offa, 51.
- Turner, Anne, executed for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, 157.
- Tutbury, Robert de Ferrers' castle and mint at, 440.
- U.
- Ujain State, 385.
- URBS ROMA, type of Constantine the Great, 75, 76.
- V.
- V.E.I.C. = United East India Co., 342.
- V.O.C. on Dutch Indian coins, 343.
- Valentinian I., solidus of, struck at Treves, 77.

- Valerianus, mutilated coins of, 22.
 Van Abeele, Peter, medallist, 257.
 Van der Velde, 261.
 Van Dyck, 192, 193, 194, 196, 198, 199, 200, 202, 203, 212, 223, 249.
 " " the influence of, on the coins of Charles I., 194.
 " Somer, painter, 153, 155, 156.
 " Voerst, the engraver, 192, 199.
 Vanderdort, Abraham, 225.
 Varin, François, 259.
 " Jean, 205, 230, 259.
 " re-establishes the milled money in France, 195.
 VE on coin of Augustus, 8.
 Vectis=Isle of Wight, tin brought from, 35.
 Verity, J., coins of, 102.
 Vertue, 158, 200.
 " and a picture in the sale of Charles I.'s collection, 193.
 " the engraver, 192.
 Vespasian, 41.
 " comes to Britain, 41, 42.
 " imperfect work on coins of, 16.
 Vestals, find of Anglo-Saxon coins in the house of the, at Rome, 73, 74.
 Vetti, Casa del Pompeii, mural painting found in the, 6 *et seq.*
 VETTIVS · SABINVS · T · on consular silver, 8.
Vigilia, confusion between *feria* and, 382.
 Vijayanagar, the kings of, 341.
Virole brisée, or split collar, the invention of J. P. Droz, 358.
 Vishnu=the "Preserver," 289.
 Voss, Norway, A coin of Offa found in a Viking-age burial at, 51-54, 455.
- W.
- Waddesdon bequest to the British Museum, 153, 154.
 Wade, Edward, engraver, 185, 209, 220.
 Walchelin, Bishop, 118.
WALCHELINVS, moneyer of Derby, 438, 439.
 Waleram, and the mint of Colchester and Maldon, 118, 121.
 Waliullah Shah, coins of, 281.
 Walker, Mr. Casson, and the Indian coinage, 264.
 Walker, Robert, the artist, *temp.* Oliver Cromwell, 223, 224.
 Waller on the "golden" medal of Charles II. and Catharine, 255.
 Wallingford mint of Cnut, 379.
 Walter, Bishop of Albano, Papal legate, 66.
 Walters, F. A., F.S.A., and the earliest coins of, Henry VI., 141.
 Wareham mint, history of, 110-112.
 " " of Æthelred II., 111.
 " " " Æthelstan, 111.
 " " " Eadgar, 111.
 " " " Cnut, 111.
 " " " Harthacnut, 111.
 " " " Edward the Confessor, 111.
 " " " Harold II., 111.
 " " " William I., 111, 112.
 " " " " II., 112.
 " " " under the Laws of Æthelstan, 110.
 "Warham" *Castellum* de now generally identified with Corfe Castle, 110.
 Warwick, coins of William II., formerly attributed to Bridport, 106.
 " gold piece of Edward the Confessor struck at, 69, 70.
 Watt, James, 357, 358.
 " " letter of, relating to J. P. Droz, 358.
 Webb, Percy H., reference to an article by, on coins of Simon for Charles II., 232.
 " " " (the author), donation of books by, 432.
 WEIGHTMAN, Fleet Surgeon A. E., R.N.:—
 Bronze Coinage of Queen Anne, 419.
 Weightman, Fleet Surgeon A. E., coins of, 348, 349, 351.
 " " " donation of lantern and screen by, 452.
 Weldon, Sir Anthony, character of James I. by, 146, 159, 161, 168, 169.
 Wellington, Duke of, 318.
 WELLS, W. C.:—
 The token coinage of Northamptonshire, 433, 434.
 Wells, W. C., exhibits by, 418, 422, 433, 437, 439, 447.
 Welsh, Sir Robert, badge for, 206.
 Wessex, "offering pennies," probably shillings of, 62.

- West, John, exhibits by, 443.
 Weston, Sir Richard, 200, 201.
WHICHELINVS, *see* Walchelinus, 439.
 Whitbread's House, Purfleet, panes of glass from, 255.
 White, John, 78.
 Whiteman, whose brother had "learnt to grave of Simon," 219.
 Wight, Isle of, tin brought from the, 35.
 Wigmund, Archbishop of York, gold piece of, 69.
WILLELMUS, on the series of coins, *temp.* Stephen, reading, 440.
 Willett, Mrs. Mary, coins of, 107.
 William, Bishop of Durham, 114.
 William *temp.* Stephen, on the coins attributed to, 440.
 " I., coins of, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 105, 106, 107, 109, 111, 112, 114, 119, 122, 374, 379, 422.
 " " cut farthings of, 125, 126, 127, 444.
 " " find of a coin of, at Dorchester, 112.
 " " find of coins *temp.*, at Beaworth, 99, 100, 102, 103, 106, 107, 109, 112, 114, 119, 122.
 " " find of coins *temp.*, at Malmesbury, 102.
 " " find of coins *temp.*, at St. Mary Hill Church, 101, 111.
 " " Pope Alexander II. reminds, of the yearly pension sent to Rome, 66.
 " " portraiture on coins of, 374.
 " " and II. (1066-1100). A Numismatic History of the reigns of, Part II. The Histories of the Mints (*continued*), 97-122.
 " II., coins of, 103, 104, 105, 108, 110, 112, 120, 122, 374, 379.
 " " " " erroneously attributed to Bridport mint, 106.
 " " find of coins *temp.*, at Tamworth, 103, 108, 110, 120, 122.
 " " portraiture on coins of, 374.
 William II., sends the Rome-scut to the Pope, 66.
 " III. and Mary, coins of, 380.
 " " " " unpublished variety of the coronation medal of, 442.
 " " portrait of, with bust of Charles I., 202.
 " the Lion of Scotland, coins of, 432.
 " " " " " cut coins of, etc., 125, 131, 445.
 Williams, John, jeweller to James I., 161, 163, 164, 165.
 Winchester mint of Edward the Martyr, 379.
 " " represented in the Dunwich finds, 126.
 Windsor, portrait of James I. at, 153, 160.
 Wolf and twins on a coin of Æthelberht, 75.
 Worcester mint of Edward the Confessor, 379.
 " " " Harold II., 379.
 Wren, Sir Christopher, 261.
 Wroth, Warwick, on the date of Rawlins' birth, 178, 179.
 Wyon, on the Great Seal for Charles II., 233, 234.
- Y.
- Yarmouth fined for supplying the king's enemies with corn, 124.
 Yeates, F. Willson, exhibits by, 434, 447.
 York, Briot goes to, 186, 191, 205.
 " Charles I., removes to, 185.
 " CVNVNE O probably signifies King of, 87.
 " gold piece of Wigmund, Archbishop of, 69.
 " Minster destroyed by the Danes, 365.
 " " rebuilt, 365.
 " " represented on Saxon coins, 365.
 " mint of Æthelred II., 447.
 " " " Edward the Elder, 365.
 " " " Æthelstan, 90, 365, 380.
 " " " Anlaf, 89.
 " " " Eadmund, 89.
 " " " Eric, 89, 92.

York mint of Eadred, 89, 92, 93.
 " " " Eadwig, 94, 95.
 " " " Eadgar, 96.
 " " " Stephen, 375, 376.
 " " " *temp.* John, 379.
 " " " Edward III., 138.
 " " " Henry IV., 139.
 " " " " V., 140, 141.
 " " " Charles I., 204.
 " Museum, coins in the, 119
 Yorkshire tokens, 434.

Young, Matthew, and the dies of the
 Roettiers, 254.

Z.

Zabarjad the cyclic year, 320.
 Zafarabad mint of Tipu, 313, 320, 332.
 " probably Gurrumcondah, 313.
 Zeeland, coin of Mary countermarked
 with arms of, 424.
 Zuccherro, the artist, 156.

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